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U.S. 'INTERFERENCE' SHARPENS FALKLANDS CONFLICT

AU031450 Sofia BTA in English 1307 GMT 3 May 82

[Report on article by RABOTNICHESKO DELO New York correspondent Georgi Todorchev: "U.S. Complicity" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA) -- "Practically which was the place the signal for the present armed attack of the British military forces in the South Atlantic was given -- in London or in Washington?" -- This is the question the commentary on the crisis around the Falkland Islands by Mr Georgi Todorchev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in New York begins with.

The author writes that the USA and Great Britain, two countries which are permanent members of the UN Security Council which have special duties and responsibilities for maintaining the world peace, have caused the deepening of the conflict in a completely concerted and coordinated way and have led it to an armed one.

Mr Todorchev gives examples for Washington's readiness to render the "material aid" needed for the British moves. It is pointed out that the two countries' common tactics is an evident factor for the further exacerbation of the conflict instead of its being limited and gradually settled through peaceful ways.

"In the UN in those hours of tension and concern, a great number of people ask themselves" was Washington's policy and tactics any peace-making factor in the conflict and is not the behaviour of the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department and the Congress circles in fact one of the reasons for the escalation of the tension?", the commentary reads in part.

In conclusion the RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent stressed that Washington's "peace-making role" is not only an idle phrase. Washington's interference leads to an inevitable and dangerous sharpening of the conflict.

TODOROV-LED DELEGATION ACTIVITY IN SYRIA

AU031941 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 3 May 82

["For Further Development of Bulgarian-Syrian Relations" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Damascus, 4 May (BTA) -- A delegation of the National Assembly led by its chairman Mr Stanko Todorov, arrived today on an official visit to Syria at the invitation of the Syrian Parliament. At the airport the delegation was welcomed by the chairman of the People's Council, Mr (Mahmud Al Zowbi), by Syrian deputies and public figures and leaders of diplomatic missions accredited here.

Today the Syrian press devoted pronounced attention to the visit assessing it as a new expression of the constantly developing friendly relations between the two countries and peoples. The newspapers carry also biographical data about Mr Stanko Todorov.

This afternoon the offical talks between delegations of the two parliaments began.

Information has been exchanged on the socioeconomic development of the two countries and the internal political tasks of the National Assembly and the People's Council. On the agenda were also the state and the prospects for the further development of Bulgarian-Syrian relations, and also the role of parliaments in the implementation of the accords reached between the first leaders of the two countries -- Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Hafiz al-Asad.

In the foreign political part of the conversation the danger of deterioration of the international situation as a result of the actions of imperialism and Zionism has been stressed with particular concern. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East and the aggravation of the crisis in the region after the annexation of the Golan Heights from Israel and the deployment of units of the United States and the other NATO countries on the Sinai Peninsula.

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS PLOVDIV FAIR OPENING 3 MAY

AU031019 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 May 82

[Summary] The international Plovdiv fair for consumer goods and food industry products opened this morning on the Plovdiv fair grounds. "Those present at the opening enthusiastically applauded Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was accompanied by party, government and economic leaders, as well as by numerous guests from our country and abroad." Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia were also present at the opening of the fair.

Representatives from 48 countries of all continents are participating in the Plovdiv spring fair. Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade delivered the opening speech, pointing out that "the spring fair expresses the desire of all those participating in it to develop a constructive exchange of goods and fruitful cooperation." Khristo Khristov noted that "over 1,200 organizations and firms are taking part in the fair which is more than twice the size of last year's." He added that the ever-increasing number of foreign enterprises participating in the Plovdiv fair "reflects the positive character of the system of contacts and mutual relations built up during the period of active development in the process of detente."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov officially opened and inaugurated the Plovdiv spring fair, after which he and those accompanying him toured the pavillions of the Bulgarian light industry sector, the pavilion of the National Agroindustrial Union, as well as the chemical industry pavilion. "Comrade Zhivkov and those accompanying him were briefed on the successes achieved by the aforementioned national economic branches in connection with implementing the decisions of the Ruse conference for introducing greater variety in production and for increasingly satisfying the needs of our domestic markets for better quality consumer goods.

Meets Fair Participants

AU031823 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] On 3 May in Plovdiv, a meeting took place between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the other party and state leaders who took part in the official opening of the Plovdiv fair, and ministers and leaders of economic and foreign trade organizations participating in the fair. The meeting was opened and chaired by Comrade Grisha Filipov. Comrade Andrey Lukanov evaluated the Bulgarian participation in the fair. In his speech Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that great progress in the production of consumer goods is evident. Their variety and quality constantly increase. Comrade Todor Zhivkov also spoke on some unsolved problems, and outlined the most important and urgent tasks in this area.

PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR, COUNSELLOR EXPELLED

LD031726 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the ambassador of the Portuguese Republic today that his further presence, as well as that of the counsellor of the Portuguese Embassy, is undesirable in Czechoslovakia in view of their activity which is incompatible with the status of diplomatic representative.

A report issued by CTK states further that on 30 April the Czechoslovak ambassador and the secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Lisbon were expelled. This totally unprecedented and unfounded step by the Portuguese authorities grossly contravenes generally respected international-legal norms and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The purpose of this step was to disturb the positively developing relations and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Portuguese Republic. This hostile act was inspired by forces who do not favor the development of friendly relations between nations and the policy of detente.

RUDE PRAVO: BEJDA ARTICLE ON TASKS OF IDEOLOGY

AU281806 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Vasil Bejda, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department: "Along the Path of Social Progress; Current Issues of Ideological Work" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] A FEW DAYS AGO A CONSULTATION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT HEADS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' FRATERNAL PARTIES TOOK PLACE IN PRAGUE. AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE CONSULTATION, I WOULD LIKE TO PONDER SOME CURRENT ISSUES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN ENSURING THE TASKS ALONG THE PATH OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE ACUTE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. I WILL DO SO IN THE SPIRIT OF THE INTERPRETATION AND APPROACHES APPLIED AT THE AFOREMENTIONED CONSULTATION.

Ideological aspects increasingly penetrate all sectors of building socialism. The needs of the further development of the socialist economy in particular place great demands on ideological and educational activity.

Course of Economic Intensification

In the national economy we are facing a set of complex tasks, tasks which are new in many respects, tasks connected with fully asserting in practice the party's political line aimed at intensifying the economy and raising the quality and effectiveness of production. We are translating this line into life under conditions in which we have at our disposal the same or even more limited resources than in the past years, and must cope with the impact of the growing economic discrimination on the part of imperialist countries. It is all the more difficult to effect profound changes in the minds of the ranking economic personnel and the broad strata of the working people, which under the existing conditions represents the crucial task of ideological and educational work.

Among some people, the problems and complex nature of ensuring the further growth and dynamics of the socialist economy give rise to scepticism and pessimistic sentiments. Those who yield to them forget that socialism is currently in a period of transition toward a new, qualitatively higher stage of its development. WE ARE NOT FACED WITH A CRISIS, AS ANTI-COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IS TRYING TO MAKE US BELIEVE, BUT WITH THE NECESSITY OF SOLVING NEW PROBLEMS IN DIFFERENT CONDITIONS. WHAT MATTERS IN SUCH A PERIOD IS A REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE ATTAINED STATE AND THE DRAFTING OF AN OPTIMAL PROGRAM, THE ACCURATE DETERMINATION OF THE DIRECTION OF THE PATH TO BE TAKEN.

The complexity of the present problems of building socialism and the present stage of the world revolutionary process require that we think about and employ more efficient and offensive forms of ideological influence. Of crucial importance is a candid approach to the masses of the working people, the fact that we acquaint them factually with the analysis of the situation, enlist them for the active support of measures leading to a remedy, organize their participation in implementing those measures, and develop mass-based initiative. When we proceed in this systematic way, we are succeeding in winning their support even for unpopular measures, for example price measures. On the other hand, any attempts at scheming, at covering up problems, any yielding to an "ostrich policy" -- no matter how slight -- help to spread distrust and weaken the party's links with the masses. WE VIEW THE APPLICATION OF GOTTWALD'S SLOGAN "FACE THE MASSES" IN THE DAY-TO-DAY PRACTICE AS A WAY OF ALSO SOLVING THE PRESENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND AS A GUARANTEE OF AN EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF OPPORTUNISM, AS A WAY OF FURTHER REINFORCING THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF OUR SOCIETY.

Ensuring the multifaceted, frequently qualitatively new and increasingly complicated tasks of developing the mature socialist society is impossible without steadily strengthening the international unity and cohesion of socialist countries. This law-governed necessity of socialist development was clearly expressed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "We must constantly strengthen the unity of the fraternal countries and their multifaceted and increasingly intensive cooperation in all areas, and combine in the most rational manner their forces and resources in the interest of each country and the community as a whole." Our party regards these wise words as a fundamental part of the long-term program of building an advanced socialist society, and draws conclusions from them for its ideological work.

Building Advanced Socialism

In this connection, the following topical tasks of our ideological work come to the fore:

1. Above all, it is the issue of the creative initiative and activity of the masses, to the development of which ideological and educational work wants and must contribute substantially more and better than has been the case so far. As is known, activity and the initiative-filled part of the working people in building the new society is the most precious "capital" in the process of revolutionary transformations. One of the decisive prerequisites for fulfilling the tasks of the present period is to multiply and develop this "capital." Our party views the deepening of the socialist relations of social ownership as the basis for developing activity on a mass basis.

In the present stage of its development, socialism develops primarily on its own, collectivist basis, and it is precisely because of this fact that it can more and more convincingly demonstrate its merits. The elevation of the positive role of individual initiative based on private ownership is the characteristic tribute that must be paid for lack of patience, for skipping the law-governed stages in the development of socialism. As the experiences from the 1968-69 period show, this is linked with the danger of weakening the socialist economic base and reviving petit bourgeois sentiments and approaches, which can then be abused for preparing attempts at destabilizing the socialist social system. It is only when the relations of socialist social ownership prevail that we can afford to make use of small individual production or services for solving some economic problems, as a supplement of all-social ventures.

2. The second topical problem is connected with the criteria of the socioeconomic "competition" of socialism with capitalism. The unrealistic and subjectivist approach of announcing the dates of when and in what area we will overtake capitalism -- in per capita steel production, for example -- has been overcome in our countries. The solution of partial tasks does not represent an overall substantial move of the society forward. Even though this approach has been overcome in politics, its echo in ideology can still be heard. So far we have not done enough to clarity to our people, and especially the young generation, the qualitative difference of the values and goals of socialism and the advantages of life in socialism, so as to make them consciously take part in its development. When comparing socialism and capitalism, not the quantitative but the qualitative differences and indicators should be in the foreground. Such an approach makes it possible to better and more convincingly demonstrate the advantages of socialism. The sole emphasis on the level of material consumption will become manifest in an unhealthy consumerism, which is alien to socialism, in a consumption-oriented psychology that ignores the interdependence between one's own contribution and the remuneration for work. Simplified notions -- a schematic perception of material consumption growth on the one hand and heralding automatic reductions of retail prices on the other -- resulted in the proliferation of consumption-oriented tedencies. The CPCZ is drawing lessons from these mistakes and, in its ideological and educational activity, emphasizes the shaping of active approaches to life of the socialist person and the deepening of the socialist way of life in general.

3. It is necessary to consistently cultivate our people's pride in their socialist homeland, its progressive traditions and current accomplishments, to enhance a class-conscious, active attitude to the socialist community and to intensify the feelings of socialist internationalism. The purpose of this is to encourage the activity of the working people and to increase their creative share in building and defending the socialist homeland. Improving education in socialist patriotism will not do without overcoming pro-Western (actually pro-capitalist) tendencies, which are manifest among some groups of our population and are being spread and fed by diverse and furtive forms of anticommunist propaganda from abroad. The events in Poland again showed the dangers arising from these tendencies. The party's ideological work must concentrate its endeavor even more on shaping and deepening the class-consciousness, vigilance and irreconciliability of our citizens toward the reactionary policy and ideology of imperialism, no matter in which disguise it appears.

Attention to World Outlook Education

In view of the fact that the active approach of people to revolutionary social transformations is a product of their value orientation, we are devoting first-rate attention to world outlook education. Our efforts are not without problems, but not without successes either. An ever larger number of people are becoming conversant with scientific socialism and oriented toward the moral values of socialist humanism. This goes against the grain of reactionary religious representatives, especially that part of the Catholic Church hierarchy which is trying, in close contact with the Vatican, to make illicit use of believers for antisocialist activity.

This is an evident manifestation of the fact that IMPERIALISM RELIES ON PRESENT CLERICALISM NOT ONLY AS A MAINSTAY OF OVERCOME STRUCTURES AND OUTDATED THOUGHT, BUT ALSO AS AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF ERODING SOCIALISM. PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS IS THE LINES OF WORLD CATHOLICISM. THE VATICAN, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN PAUL II, SEEKS TO STEP UP CLERICAL DEMANDS, ESCALATE ANTICOMMUNISM AND STRENGTHEN ITS POSITIONS OF POLITICAL POWER.

This was also confirmed during the March visit of Czechoslovak bishops in Rome. Provided that the interpretation of bourgeois journalists is trustworthy, in his address to them the pope dealt, among other things, with the question of how to make possible the return to religion, to the bosom of the church, of those who allegedly fell victim to "ideological confusion," an interesting discovery. Does this mean a modern-age attempt at repeating the ill-famous crusades against infidels?

In this context, the Vatican's modified ostpolitik becomes understandable, aimed at strengthening political clericalism in socialist countries. By employing a differentiated approach, it seeks to create and enlarge areas of friction between individual countries, and to sow discord among them, especially as regards their relations with the Soviet Union. Neither can we underestimate the propagated concepts of a Christian Europe, Christian pan-Slavism, Polish Catholicism and others that are designed to assist political infiltration and destructive influence in the socialist society.

The Vatican also arrogates to itself the right to be an arbiter in the issue of human rights and freedoms. It disseminates reports about an alleged suppression of citizens' right to the freedom of religion and cult in our country. To prove its assertions, it does not hesitate to distort facts about religious life in the CSSR. The Vatican increasingly demands blind obedience of clergymen and believers, yet it reproaches our state because it expects its citizens' loyalty to the socialist homeland, regardless of their beliefs or persuasion.

We are frequently being told -- and this does not come only from anticommunist centrals -- to see the reality, that means the existence of religion. According to this interpretation, respect for the reality is tantamount to its passive acceptance. WE UNDERSTAND REALITY IN CONNECTION WITH REMODELLING THE EXISTING STATE OF SOCIETY IN THE SPIRIT OF MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE. AND WE WANT TO INVOLVE EVEN MORE THAN HERETOFORE IN THIS STRUGGLE ALSO THE BELIEVERS -- MAY THIS CONCERN THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN FULFILLING THE TASKS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY OR THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, REDUCING INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND AVERTING THE THREAT OF A NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE. In this and only in this respect -- that means on the basis of socialism -- there exists sufficient scope for the existence of churches in our society. We are concerned with establishing the best possible conditions for building the new society. We reckon in this process with all citizens of our state, we are interested in their constructive work. However, we will not permit anyone, whatever pretext he may use, to impede this building process. This fully applies also to Catholic clericalism.

On the Positions of Reformism

The class enemy persistently seeks to strengthen his influence on how our people will perceive not only various international political problems but also the development within the socialist community and in the international revolutionary movement. He is assisted in this endeavor by the present positions of some communist parties of Western countries, especially the Italian Communist Party [PCI], which is deliberately making a transition to the positions of reformism.

It is not at all coincidental that, in complex situations, E. Berlinguer and his followers take the side of the class enemy. This has also happened now when resolute action was taken in Poland in defense of the revolutionary gains. The same thing happened during the events in Afghanistan or Kampuchea, but also at the time of the crisis in our country in the years 1968-69. The PCI leadership always supported the histile crusades unleashed against the socialist ocuntries on these occasions.

These capitulatory stands have now gone so far that, by emphasizing the so-called "new model" of the struggle for socialism, a political and ideological platform has been set up that is directed against Leninism and its practical experiences confirmed in the socialist countries. Moreover, it is being shamelessly forced upon other parties.

The present positions of the PCI leadership eloquently demonstrate what is really behind the slogans on the need for so-called new internationalism -- that their aim is to discre t the role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the international revolutionary movement anc to justify "neutralism" or direct nodding to anti-Soviet campaigns. The other side of the same coin is the attempt to obliterate the difference between communists and social reformists. THAT WHICH IS PURPORTEDLY DESIGNED TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF DEEPENING THE ACTION UNITY OF THE ENTIRE WORKERS AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IS IN REALITY AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY PRINCIPLED CONCESSIONS TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. In light of the latest stands of the PCI, we again clearly realize that the prerequisite for a more effective joint course of action with all leftwing and democratic forces is not the weakening but, on the contrary, the further deepening of the international unity and coordination of communists on consistent Marxist-Leninist principles.

On the other hand, the stands of the PCI leadership and also of some other parties underline the even greater urgency of the demand for the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for ideological unity of the international revolutionary movement and against all forms of revisionism and opportunism to be waged systematically as a permanent integral part of our international ideological struggle. LENIN'S IDEA IS ONCE AGAIN BEING RECONFIRMED THAT A FERTILE SOIL FOR REACTIVATING REVISIONISM IS CREATED, ABOVE ALL, WHEN THE QUALITATIVELY NEW PROBLEMS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM ARE NOT BEING DEALT WITH. THAT IS WHY THE SYSTEMATIC THEORETICAL STUDY AND ACTIVE EXPLANATION OF THESE PROBLEMS IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON AGAINST REVISIONISM.

As is known, the PCI leadership used as a pretext for exacerbating the strife with Leninism the latest events in the Polish People's Republic and the approach of the CPCZ and other fraternal parties to them.

We note with great satisfaction that the energetic measures in the last 3 months, connected with the imposition of a state of emergency, have erected a barrier against counterrevolution in the Polish People's Republic. At the same time we realize that this is only the first step, the necessary prerequisite for the solution itself.

The Relevance of the "Lessons"

Some 12-13 years ago our party was dealing with a situation that was in many respects similar to the present situation in Poland. It is therefore logical that we are returning to the "lessons from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress," whose conclusions are still relevant. As this analysis shows, we succeeded in overcoming the all-social disruption and in consolidating the society primarily because the party leadership again began to consistently apply the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and to make use of the general laws governing the development of socialism and of the Leninist principles of building and defending socialism.

The restoration of the party's Marxist-Leninist character was decisive above all. The first prerequisite for this was to expose, isolate and politically defeat the exponents of rightwing opportunism that had infiltrated the party and its leadership. OUR EXPERIENCE RECONFIRMED LENIN'S CONCLUSION THAT THE DECISIVE CONDITION FOR BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY IS THE POLITICAL ACTION ABILITY OF THE PARTY, ITS ACTIVITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, AND ITS ABILITY TO LEAD THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE MASSES OF OTHER WORKING PEOPLE.

The prerequisite for rallying the broad masses around the positive program of consolidation was to expose the true essence of the false "friends of the people" and their links with reactionary imperialist circles abroad, to unmask the true designs of the exponents of rightwing opportunism, on democratizing, humanizing or renewing socialism. The party's militant, continuous ideological work in this direction contributed to restoring the ideological and political unity of the party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to restoring the trust in the party and its authority in the ranks of the workers class and in society at large.

From the international viewpoint, it was important to overcome the artifically introduced anti-Soviet sentiments and to strengthen friendly ties with the socialist community and with the Soviet Union in particular. This is still relevant.

One can also today come across the view that in a situation in which the Soviet Union is no longer the only outpost of socialism in a global capitalist encirclement, the other revolutionary forces are less responsible for actively supporting the USSR's peace-loving policy, spreading the truth about the land of the Soviets and resolutely fighting all manifestations of anti-Sovietism. It is not rare that this argument is used to justify one's own lack of principle and search for profit from compromises with the class enemy. However, the present-day development makes it still more obvious that THE BIGGER THE POTENTIAL OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE MORE IMPORTANT ITS ROLE IN WORLD POLITICS, THE MORE THIS HELPS ALL REVOLUTIONARY, PROGRESSIVE AND PEACE-PROMOTING FORCES -- THE MORE REACTION UNITES PRECISELY ON THE PLATFORM OF ANTI-SOVIETISM AND THE MORE RABID AND INCENSED ARE ITS ATTACKS AND CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS ACCENTUATES EVEN MORE THE ROLE OF TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS POLICY IN THE GLOBAL CALSS STRUGGLE, ITS ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PRESERVING WORLD PEACE. In our party's ideological work, we are drawing from this the most consistent conclusions possible. The exposition of anti-Sovietism as the chief weapon directed against the socialist community as a whole and all forces of progress and peace is also the key direction of our ideological and political assistance to revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces in the non-socialist world. With this in mind, we must make full use, in both internal and external propaganda, of the possibilities provided by this year's 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, by all the gigantic revolutionary transformations achieved in all areas of the Soviet peoples' life.

In the present exacerbated international situation, the preservation of world peace is of primary importance. This is the foremost task also for our ideological work. Though the forces of imperialism have succeeded in aggravating international relations, recent developments convince us that it is possible to achieve successes in the struggle for peace. This is borne out by the "somersaults" of the main representatives of the present U.S. administration. Haig no longer repeats his statement that there are things more important than peace, and Reagan himself has abandoned his overt war terminology and tries to appear in the role of the primary "peacemaker."

However, this does not mean that American imperialism has given up its plan to gain supremacy over the Soviet Union and the attempts to achieve military superiority in the world. Evidence of this is furnished, among other things, by the stubborn rejection of all peace and disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, even when it proposes unilateral steps aimed at alleviating tension. A typical example of this is the rejection of the Soviet proposal for a moratorium and even of the offer of a unilateral Soviet reduction of the number of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. That is why we must not let up in the ideological and propaganda support of the socialist community's peace proposals, in the effective assistance of all forces fighting against the danger of a war, of a thermonuclear catastrophe being prepared by imperialist reaction.

RUDE PRAVO COMMENTS ON U.S. STAND ON FALKLANDS

AU031030 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 May 82 p 7

[Commentary by Washington correspondent Dusan Rovensky]

[Text] Following Secretary of State A. Haig's declaration that the United States is imposing economic sanctions against Argentina and suspending its supplies of military technology, President Reagan went on the air and tried to "substantiate" his administration's steps by arguing that Argentina "had rejected the peace plan" which General Haig tried to force upon it in his "shuttle diplomacy." Reagan assured [the audience] that the United States does not intend to interfere militarily in the conflict between Britain and Argentina.

The United States' position in the crisis furnishes new proof of the essence of American policy. Reagan's administration unambiguously supports British colonialism, it is implementing a neocolonialist policy serving the interests of American and international oil monopolies. Its present position is in contravention of the UN Charter and the pertinent resolutions adopted by the United Nations in the past few years on annulling the colonial status of the Malvines and restoring Argentine sovereignty. It is also in contravention of the latest Security Council resolutions calling for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The fact that the United States has taken Britain's side only increases the danger of a large military conflict, a conflict that does not pose a threat to peace in the South Atlantic alone.

For a certain period of time Reagan's administration pretended to be interested in settling the dispute. General Haig was commuting between London and Buenos Aires, the Argentine minister of foreign affairs was invited to Washington and government circles were indicating that Haig was willing to travel to Argentina once again. However, the entire "shuttle diplomacy" was merely designed to deceive public opinion -- in the United States, Latin America and the world at large.

The United States' sympathies and support for Britain in the present crisis clearly show that the actual objective of American policy in this part of the world, just as in any other place, are imperialist interests, and these are identical with the interests of British colonialism.

Political observers in Washington note that the Reagan administration's position will aggravate the United States' frictions with a number of Latin American countries, which support Argentina in the present crisis.

SLOVAK PRAVDA URGES UNITY OF SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

AU301445 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Jozef Coufal, assistant professor and candidate of sciences, in the column "On a Theoretical Topic": "The Dialectics of the Whole and its Part"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] It is impossible to combine "with impunity" the parts of mutually foreign, heterogeneous social wholes, such as opposed socioeconomic systems -- they must not be combined arbitrarily, eclectically.

THE SUBJECTIVIST, REVISIONIST AND RIGHTWING-OPPORTUNIST TRANSFER OF ELEMENTS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM INTO THE PROCESS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM -- NO MATTER WHETHER IT IS DONE IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE (THE TYPICAL THING IS, THAT SUCH PROCESSES USUALLY START IN THE IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE, LATER GRADUALLY AFFECTING THE OTHER PARTS OF THE COMPLEX OF SOCIAL LIFE) -- NOT ONLY REPRESENTS A SERIOUS THREAT TO A SINGLE SOCIALIST COUNTRY, AS WE OURSELVES HAVE LEARNT FROM OUR OWN EXPERIENCE, BUT IT ALSO HAS AN INTERNATIONAL IMPACT, HARMING THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

Naturally the bourgeoisie is striving by every means to bring about the disintegration and division of the proletariat, which so threatens its own existence, doing so ideologically, politically and organizationally, and both from within and from the outside. Although from time to time it may partly succeed in its attempts (let us recall, for instance, the penetration by revisionism and opportunism of the Second Internationale and its final disintegration; or the current role of a disintegrating factor played, for instance, by so-called Eurocommunism). THE OBJECTIVE DIALECTICS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE AND ITS PARTS MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE BOURGEOISIE TO SUCCEED IN ACHIEVING A LASTING DISINTEGRATION OF THE WHOLE OF THAT PROCESS, WHICH ITSELF IS CREATED BY, AND DEPENDS ON, THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. THUS PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS NOT SOMETHING SOMEBODY HAD DREAMT UP; IT IS A SENSIBLE AND EXPEDIENT UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS CLASS AGAINST THE NATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITISM OF THE BOURGEOISIE; AND, ABOVE ALL, IT IS AN OBJECTIVE AND LOGICAL PROCESS AND TOOL IN CREATING AND DEVELOPING THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE WORKERS CLASS IN ITS CLASS BATTLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE.

At no time in history has there existed such a firm, powerful international union capable of action as there exists now. In its unity, the successes of each socialist country are simultaneously the successes of the socialist system; and vice versa, the successes of the socialist community as a whole are also successes of its individual countries. True, in the same way a lack of success, and problems and difficulties, also affect the whole and its parts, in their mutual dependence mentioned above. That is why the devoted and conscious building of socialism in each of our countries is not only our patriotic duty, but also the fulfillment of our common international task. INTERNATIONALISM, AS THE UNIFYING PRINCIPLE OF THE WORKERS CLASS, HAS BECOME FOR THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES A PRINCIPLE OF THEIR STATE POLICY WITHIN EACH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY, IN THE MUTUAL RELATIONS WITHIN THEIR WHOLE, AND ALSO IN RELATION TO PROCESSES ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. A new form of internationalism has thus emerged and is developing -- socialist internationalism, which is the action principle uniting all today's anti-imperialist forces. Here, too, it is true that any disruption or deformation of this principle, even partial or concealed, weakens the anti-imperialist unity and plays into the hands of its enemies.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are the leading force of action unity of the workers class and all working people in every socialist state, and also on an international scale. They led the workers class to the victorious revolution. They are leading it also in the building of socialism.

In connection with the enormous significance of the international unity of anti-imperialist forces, we must realize the objective impact of the nonclass stand adopted by the PCI leadership on the situation in the Polish People's Republic. There is no doubt that this stand plays into the hands of imperialists and their plans for weakening and splitting the unity of the socialist system and, in the final consequence, its plans for war adventures.

It is peculiar, to say the least, that the PCI leadership claims that the proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland has endangered peace, while not realizing that the main and decisive force of maintaining peace is exactly the working people's international unity and, within this unity, the united socialist system headed by the USSR. Surely it is not unknown to the PCI leadership that the contradictory substance of the development of imperialism produces tendencies to redivide the already divided world, even by military means, whereas the military solution of developments is quite foreign to the socialist system. This is the objective logic of the dynamics of these two wholes which differ qualitatively in their social systems. THE ABSTRACT, NONCLASS, REVISIONIST CONFUSION OR IDENTIFICATION OF SUBSTANTIAL QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SOCIAL SYSTEMS LEADS TO SERIOUS POLITICAL MISTAKES; IT DISORIENTS AND WEAKENS THE FIGHT AGAINST THE OBJECTIVE CAUSES OF IMPERIALIST WARS.

Our invincibility lies not only in our military defense ability and the high technical and moral-political standards of the Warsaw Pact armies, but also in the invincibility of socialism as a qualitatively new social whole in all its parts. The old system cannot win over the new one even economically, regardless of whether it is at the moment stronger in one respect or another. It can damage us economically, it can discriminate against us, hamper our advance, block our trade and so forth -- after all, it has been doing this these many years, causing disadvantages also to itself -- but, as proved by history (for instance by the history of cold war), socialism emerges from such situations even stronger than before.

SOCIALISM AS A HIGHLY ORGANIZED SOCIETY PLACES HIGH DEMANDS ON THE AWARENESS, DISCIPLINE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF ITS MEMBERS. IT IS THE DUTY OF US ALL -- ACCORDING TO THE POSITION WE HOLD -- TO CONCRETELY BE AWARE OF OUR TASKS IN THE COMPLEX OF PRESENT SOCIETY, IN ITS PROGRESSIVE PERSPECTIVES, BUT ALSO IN THE SITUATION OF DANGER THREATENING IT, AND IT IS OUR DUTY TO ACT ACCORDINGLY. The dialectic-materialist category of the whole and its parts is the method of this approach [sentence as published]; it orients the complex and specific targeting of propaganda and agitation, the complex and targeted nature of resolutions and measures and the control of their fulfillment; it is the theoretical tool in the criticism of revisionism, opportunism, eclecticism, one-sidedness and abstractness; it helps us differentiate between the main issues, and the side ones, between the substantial and the accidental, and between the contents and the form in politics, economy and ideology; and it prevents us from "not seeing the forest for the trees," thus simultaneously preventing us from "not seeing the trees for the entire forest."

HUSAK RECEIVES OUTGOING SRV AMBASSADOR

LD040118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Gustav Husak, the president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today Nguy›n Tien Thong, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, who is ending his tour of duty in Czechoslovakia. Gustav Husak presented him with the Order of the White Lion, Second Class, which has been awarded to him for his present contribution towards strengthening friendship and the development of all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the SRV. Comrade Gustav Husak thanked Ambassador Nguyen Tien Thong for the efforts he made during his tour of duty in Prague to expand and strengthen Czechoslovak-Vietnamese relations and wished him every success in his future work.

MAY DAY RALLIES SHOW ECONOMIC, PEACE EFFORTS

DW031133 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 2 May 82

[Karl-Heinz Gerstner's weekly economic review]

[Excerpts] I wish you a good Sunday, dear listeners. Yesterday was a memorable May Day indeed. We gained impressive experiences. The May Day demonstrations everywhere reflected the people's concern about the danger of war and their determination to do something about it. The May Day demonstration in Berlin was dominated by the determination to convert the idea of peace into economic performance. Many enterprises reported paln fulfillment by 1 May; many also came with a plan lead.

The Cottbus railroad repair yard has repaired railroad cars in excess of the plan targets to facilitate the large-scale transfer of shipping from road to rail. Other plants reported on their banners how they propose to achieve 2 day's worth of extra output. The workers of the Berlin construction combine intend to build 66 apartments in excess of the plan even though their plan is already high. They thereby express their determination to fulfill the great housing construction program by 1990 as planned. Since the program's adoption at the eighth party congress in 1971, 4.5 million people have moved to new apartments in the GDR. Great feats have been achieved indeed, and now housing construction workers are seeking to reduce construction times as is indicated by slogans evident in the May Day demonstrations in Erfurt, Cottbus, Halle and Berlin.

Within the framework of the drive for 2 day's worth of extra output, the Berlin knitted outerwear enterprise -- a small but very active enterprise -- plans to produce 1,000 children's sweaters and 4,000 caps and shawls in excess of the plan. The target of the Cottbus miners is 500,000 tons of crude brown coal in addition to the plan. The Berliner carburetor plant is going to produce a fuel-saving carburetor for the Trabant passenger car. The Paul Schaefer shoe factory in Erfurt had delivered 21,000 pairs of shoes in excess of the plan by 1 May and intends to increase this above-plan result to 60,000 pairs by the end of the year. The engineers and designers of the Berlin works for television electronics plan to file 50 patent registrations this year. We saw hundreds of such proposals during the May Day demonstrations. These initiatives can be viewed only in the context of man's longing for peace and with the people's determination to do something for peace and the strengthen this socialist state.

All of us in the GDR, dear listeners, are in agreement on the peace issue. Innumerable May Day slogans said the following: Against Imperialist Arms Madness; Create Peace Without NATO Weapons; and Away With the Missile Decision. As communists we have always been for peace.

The May Day demonstrations in the GDR were peace demonstrations by millions of people. The longing for peace and the strengthening of the GDR are the two poles around which our thoughts revolve and which motivate our current course of action. This was obvious in the 1982 May Day demonstrations.

Thus the experience of May 1982 ascertained the gradiose mobilization of intellectual forces in the GDR. Obviously profound social processes are underway. New forms and new traditions of a new society have emerged. Part of this is our observation of the year's supreme holiday, the militant day of the international workers class. Part of this is also the way in which we put our daily work in the service of social development, politically motivate it and thus lend it greater weight.

Dear listeners, the worsening of the world economic situation, the economic war pursued by Reagan and energy problems are causing new difficulties for all countries. We are also confronted with problems whose solution requires everything from us.

Unlike the working people in the capitalist countries, however, whose hands are condemned to inactivity, we can develop our forces and our creative potentials. All of us can combat these difficulties with concerted action, and we are doing so. The May Day demonstrations were eloquent proof of this.

One of our economy's most important projects aimed at saving energy is the electrification of the railroad. Under the current 5-year plan we propose to, and will, electrify 750 km. because shipments by electified railroad are eight times cheaper than those by road. The 2,500 railraod track workers of the Reichsbahn's electrification construction works are aiming with zeal and many rationalization facilities to electrify 140 km. this year. This requires the construction of as many as 5,560 concrete foundations for power-poles along the tracks. Innovators of the electrification construction works have developed a concrete mixer train made up of a mobile concrete plant, a drill plant and a rotary crane. The works built four of these concrete mixing trains under this rationalization program. They permit a considerable acceleration of electrification work. The collective which developed this concrete mixing train was awarded the order Banner of Labor on 1 May. This performance, this speed and this motivation are inspired by what we experienced yesterday on May Day.

HONECKER MEETS LIBYAN FOREIGN LIAISON SECRETARY

LD031310 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1226 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Berlin, 3 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received on Monday for a friendly talk 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, special representative of Libyan leader Mu'ammar al Qadhdhafi and secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Foreign Minister al-'Ubaydi conveyed to Erich Honecker warm greetings and a message from Mu'ammar al-'Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. In his message, al-Qadhdhafi pays tribute to the GDR's support for the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving states and peoples, including the Libyan people, against imperialism and for social progress.

Erich Honecker reciprocated the greetings and the sentimenets of friendly soldiarity. He expressed the GDR's concern at the dangerous escalation of the international situation as a result of the imperialist policy of building up arms and confrontation, which is also reflected in the Middle East. He strongly condemned the Israeli policy of annexation in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territory which makes a mockery of all internatiinal law.

During the conversation the identity of views in the struggle for peace, security and detente in the world as well as in the anti-imperialist struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism was emphasized. The two men underlined the great topical significance of active cooperation by all peace-loving and progressive forces. The two sides reinforced interest in further developing and deepening relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

HONECKER RECEIVES NEW PLO AMBASSADOR 30 APR

LD301614 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 30 Apr (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State on Friday received Dr Isam Kamil Salim, PLO ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, who presented his letters of accreditation. During the friendly meeting Erich Honecker confirmed the GDR's principled position on settling the Palestinian question. In this he emphasized in particular the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the formation of an independent state and he condemned the current attacks by imperialism against the PLO.

Erich Honecker expressed his satisfaction with the high state of bilateral relations between the GDR and the PLO. In this connection he praised the official friendship visit by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and supreme commander of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution, to the GDR and the fruitful exchange of views carried out during that visit.

Dr Isam Kamil Salim expressed thanks for the GDR's constant solidarity and support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people. The decision to raise the level of the PLO representation in Berlin to that of an embassy is of great political significance.

FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES IN ANGOLA 3 MAY

LD031800 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1643 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Luanda, 3 May (ADN) -- Today GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer arrived in Luanda for a visit to the People's Republic of Angola that will last several days. He was cordially welcomed by Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge.

HONECKER RECEIVES PRC ENVOY FOR FAREWELL VISIT

LD301546 East Berlin International Service in German 1422 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 30 Apr (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Chen Dong for his farewell visit. During the talk Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR will continue its efforts to develop relations with the PRC in accordance with the principles of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference. Erich Honecker thanked the ambassador for his work in the GDR and asked him to convey his greetings to Ye Yianying,chairman of the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee.

Stoph Receives Envoy

DW300943 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today received Chen Dong, PRC ambassador to the GDR, for the latter's farewell visit.

HONECKER RECEIVES CSSR AMBASSADOR 30 APR

LD301524 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1405 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 30 Apr (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, genral secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, today received Pavol Sadovsky, the CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, for the presentation of his credentials.

The ambassador conveyed his best greetings from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, which were warmly reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

In the friendly talk which followed Erich Honecker praised the close, unshakeable fighting alliance between the SED and the CPCZ, on the basis of which the fraternal relations between the two states and peoples had reached a high level. The GDR is firmly determined to continue to do its utmost to deepen further cooperation in all social spheres for the benefit of both peoples and in the interests of socialism and peace. Erich Honecker assured the ambassador of all-round support and wished him much success in exercising his responsible duties.

NEW REGULATIONS FOR PEOPLE'S POLICE HELPERS

AU031541 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin, (ADN/AZ) -- At present in the GDR 158,000 people are working as voluntary helpers of the People's Police in an honorary capacity for a high degree of order and security. Their work, which has been highly appreciated for 30 years, is reorganized by an order of the Council of Ministers which will become effective on 1 May this year.

As Maj Gen Alfred Heydel, head of the Security Police Main Department in the Ministry of Interior, stressed in a statement to the press, in the future, for instance, they will be authroized to write down the notice of arrival and departure of citizens on visits, or to ascertain whether persons are justified in staying in border areas. They are also authorized now to check whether drivers are allowed to transport people, examine driving lcienses and registration papers and to accompany large-capacity and heavy-duty transport. They may also check the ability to operate a boat and examine the reliability and traffic safety of boats.

Also new is that the order includes legal protection and insurance coverage for the helpers. It also stipulates honoring outstanding achievements and recognizing special merit with national decorations.

This social workis a convincing expression of implementing socialist democracy in the GDR, Major Geneal Heydel stressed, and illustrates at the same time the close alliance of its citizens with the People's Police.

BEZIRK COURT SENTENCES WEST BERLIN RESIDENT

AU031216 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin, (ADN) -- On Thursday the Potsdam Bez k Court sentenced Thomas Neubueser, resident of Berlin (West), to 7 years of imprisonment under section 105 of the penal code for crimes connected with the abuse of the transit agreement. The car -- a "Chevrolet" with license plates HH-042498 which had been especially prepared for the crime and disguised as a transportation vehicle and which was neither reliable in service nor roadworthy -- was impounded.

As a hired and paid agent of the criminal Rubach gang, operating from the FRG and West Berlin, Neubueser participated in subversive actions against the GDR. Neubueser was hired for the criminal association by gang member Michael Franke who has previous convictions. He got his instructions from gang leader Rubach who has intensive relations with bases of imperialist secret services in Berlin (West).

In implementing these crimes the gang unscrupulously involved insane Udo Ramin, resident of Berlin (West), as a car driver and thus endangered the life and health of road users on the GDR transit routes. Ramin was in the meantime handed over to the responsible authorities of Berlin (West) for in-patient treatment.

GASPAR ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

LD301326 Budapest MTI in English 1011 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Budapest, 30 Apr (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), was interviewed by the Hungarian television on international workers' solidarity, proletarian internationalism and their content on the occasion of May Day. The interview was broadcast on April 29. Speaking about the international unity of the workers class and the proletariat as well as the links between the workers of various countries, Sandor Gaspar stressed:

"The working class remains to be a homogeneous unity, though the concept itself has been completed through historic and social changes. The old expression 'working class' still possesses its natural value and meaning but in a different way. For example, workers living in socialist societies cannot be regarded as proletarians, in the original meaning of the word, as proletarians were defrauded, outlawed and indigent.

"Today, the concept of the working class has been completed by that it also involves those, who have integrated into the class in the various parts of the world. Thus, today, while stressing that the concept remained to be the same, we can speak about workers because this reflects better the situation.

"As for the links between workers, there is one such link, as everybody who lives by work, is connected with another worker, disregarding social circumstances and the level of living standards. It is not by chance that the international trade union movement has been seeking this link for decades and workers' solidarity gives concrete meaning to this activity. This concrete meaning, i.e. solidarity, relatedness and interdependence, has been formed long ago, but it is obvious that during the historical development this concept has been enriched with new factors and history raises new claims against the working class, which should be adjusted to new relations. The constant and valuable factor of workers' solidarity is the joint service of class targets," stressed Sandor Gaspar.

"Nowadays doubts are often raised whether the meaning of the word 'solidarity' has been worn out or not. Does it have a concrete content? Our world is quite divided and it continues to polarize, but workers' solidarity remains to be a live force Sandor Gaspar. [sentence as received]

Speaking about the importance of workers' solidarity in issues like armament, war and peace, Sandor Gaspar said:

"Solidarity has got two to three constant elements for years. The first one is class ambitions, class targets and joint service. The other one is joint steps against the danger of war threatening mankind. It is also a constant element.

"Let me mention a concrete example. We held a meeting of European trade union leaders last November. Inspite of the fact that we did not agree in several issues, as we had differing ideological bases, our fate remains to be collective, and common responsibility has assembled us. It was the first time after 30 years that an all-European conference could be held, where we took a joint stand in the interest of peace and security in Europe. It indicated that the trade union movement in Europe, by utilizing its possibilities, made efforts for safeguarding peace and security in Europe.

"Our common fate links us and we are able to make steps in the interest of this. It is clear that the outbreak of a war is not the fault of the trade union movement. However, the trade union movement has an opportunity to give voice to its opinion as it speaks on ambitions and combat-spiritedness in Geneva," said Sandor Gaspar in the interview given to the Hungarian television.

WARSAW MEDIA REPORT ON 3 MAY DEMONSTRATIONS

Warsaw, Other Cities Affected

LD031850 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 May 82

[Excerpt] While the Sejm was debating the subject of national accord, discussing the matter of the Council of Culture as a self-governing body of artists, and working on the act on higher education which ensures the freedom of academic research and academic autonomy, while the deputies were speaking on the national culture fund which is to patronize spiritual values, demonstrations and incidents have taken place in the streets of Warsaw and some other cities. People who do not want to understand anything, who have learned nothing, have dragged the youth into the streets to oppose the idea of reconciliation, to harm national accord. This coincidence of today's events is symbolic.

Damage, Detentions, Phones Cut

LD032130 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2043 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] In the afternoon and evening, gatherings took place in several places in Warsaw. The gatherings then turned into street riots. There were excesses, public property was devastated, windows were smashed and vehicles destroyed. The participants in the events behaved aggressively, provoking clashes with the forces of order. Since appeals for calm and for the abandonment of further demonstrations were not heeded, the militia intervened to restore calm. Several dozen participants in the adventure have been detained. They will account for the transgressions under summary procedure in accordance with the martial law in force.

These events cannot be assessed in any way other than as a desperate attempt by the opponents of socialism to regain the positions they have lost. Despite this political provocation the state authorities will not abandon the chosen course of the policy of socialist renewal and of extricating the country from the crisis. They will, at the same time, take essential measures for normalizing public life and securing calm.

At a time when the rigors of martial law are being alleviated, such demonstrations are nothing but activity aimed against the idea of national accord. Unscrupulously and with absolute contempt for the lessons from national history, the anniversary of the 3 May Constitution is taken advantage of in order to use this patriotic day as a pretext for street riots. At a time when the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic is debating further normalization of life in the country, groups of youths allowed themselves to be provoked by the political inspirations of domestic antisocialist groups and foreign subversion centers which have long been trying to cause social unrest.

Similar occurrences, although on a smaller scale, took place in Gdansk and in several other towns. The state authorities, in assessing the situation and depending on the extent to which public order and the safety of citizens are threatened, will take the necessary measures stemming from martial law. Telephone communications have been temporarily suspended in Warsaw.

Rakowski Press Conference

LD032206 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2043 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] A press conference was held today in which Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski answered questions from Polish and foreign journalists. Here is our report:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] How, in the light of the events of the last few hours, does national accord look in the opinion of the government?

[Rakowski] The commentary on the government proposals and, in general, about forces which put forward the idea of national accord is written by those who organize these demonstrations. There is not the slightest doubt that such actions make it difficult to conduct a dialogue between the authorities and the community, and in general make it difficult -- or can make it difficult -- to achieve an accord or an agreement on certain fundamental matters which concern the future of our nation, both in the short term and long term. No doubt we must recognize such manifestations as an unfavorable phenonenon -- unfavorable to the country -- a phenomenon which of course is worthy of condemnation. One can say that one can only express regret that there are people who think that by organizing such actions it will be possible to achieve internal calm in Poland. Unfortunately this is a tragic error if they think so, and it seems they do think it is necessary to heat up the political climate in Poland, as if it were not enough for them, as if it were not hot enough!

[Question] Do you think it is possible to achieve national accord without Solidarity?

[Rawkowski] It is necessary to aim at achievement of the accord with everyone who realistically evaluates the situation in Poland, who realistically assesses the tasks ahead of us. I have already said [word indistinct] in my speech that today the political forces are different from those of the past. That is why I emphasize the need for national accord around the fundamental goals and interests. And I do not see any possibility at the moment to enter into any kind of agreement with the forces which were to form such an agreement in the past. In concrete terms, I am thinking about Solidarity because Solidarity, just like the other trade unions, is suspended. According to my evaluation of the situation existing in Poland today, most certainly the shape of the future trade union movement is not a matter of days or weeks. But generally, I am of the opinion that one should think less in terms of institutions, and in particular this traditional triangle on which national accord was to be based -- an accord which anyway was rejected by Solidarity. One should treat the accord more as the achievement of unity in a few matters which are of fundamental importance to Poland.

[Question] [Words indistinct] What can you say about the role of the church [words indistinct]?

[Rakowski] We have constant contacts with the church -- or to be more precise, with the Episcopate -- and we have constant talks. We think that such talks are very useful and beneficial to the country. We shall continue such a policy. As far as various statements are concerned which are issued by the church on the accord or dialogue -- well, I am not their author. The church is the author. I think you now the basis of our policy toward the church and our point of view on the role of the Catholic Church in Poland. Nothing has changed in this sphere. Of course, we also have critical remarks on the subject of this or that kind of phenomena, but this is a normal everyday thing and we are not considering this as some kind of a new situation. I repeat once again that in our policy with regard to the hierarchy or the Episcopate nothing has changed; we treat the Episcopate as a significant force, a force which is seeking the dialogue. But, of course, it is obvious that if one has a dialogue then one has differing views, opinions, differing wishes and different demands. We consider this to be a normal phenomenon.

[Question] Is the government able at the moment to encourage an improvement in the social and sociopolitical situation or in economic relations?

[Rakowski] I believe that our capabilities in this area still are limited, quite strictliy limited at that. There is no doubt that some elements of an elementary order in the economy have been introduced or are being introduced. Of course, as you probably know, the situation in the mining industry is fairly good -- a fact not without significance for an improvement of the economic situation, although prices of coal fell this year and therefore we shall not gain the profits which we could have counted on.

There is also a more painful issue, namely that certain markets which are traditional for us have been taken over by other states, by the United States among others, as a result of which already last year we had to reduce the exports of coal. This is the reason for our limited capabilities despite a clear improvement in the mining industry. This is the first point. The second point is that there is no doubt that the sanctions applied by Reagan and his allies, or the allies of the United States in NATO, for various reasons and in various ways also restrict our capabilities. Thus, we have without doubt a much narrowed field or a restricted quantity of means through which we could regulate the social situation, in other words improve the mood. Well, we shall see, and of course I am not concealing the fact that all the decisions taken in the past few days aimed at alleviating the effects of martial law should improve the climate around Poland. But this depends also on the strategy existing in the West, on what is wanted. As I said in my speech we shall not act under pressure, even if this requires an even greater tightening of the belt because we are acting for the preservation of the sovereignty of the Polish state. This is the supreme objective and no one will lead us away from it. [end recording]

Setback to Accord

LD041040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 May 82

[Excerpts] Let us put several facts together. Three days ago a considerable number of the rigors of martial law were alleviated. Three days ago many 1 May demonstrations were held throughout Poland. The demonstrations were much more numerous than the opponents of national accord expected. On the 3 May anniversary of the passing of the Constitution, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic assembled to debate the shape of a national agreement and the sensitive issues of our national culture.

On an anniversary linked with one of the most beautiful pages in our history, the opponents of Polish unity -- unity needed to get the country out of the present difficulties -- decided to take advantage of the anniversary to sow unrest once again. They created many clashes involving young people in their desperate attempt to stop the normalization process.

The question arises: How far is this a repeat of the history of last summer? The object then was undoubtedly to divert attention from the obvious achievements of the congress, which, on behalf of the party, presented society with really constructive, really acceptable proposals.

The topic of the Sejm deliberations was announced much earlier. (?Did) the opponents of Polish unity feel so threatened by the clearly progressing integration process of the great majority of society that they could not hold out? It is relatively easy to encourage young, politically inexperienced people who are susceptible to emotion to participate in street demonstrations. One has to be a cynical gamesman to exploit that inclination for one's marginal -- in relation to the whole of society -- interests.

This prompts a bitter reflection. The inspirers must have been very desperate because of the processes of initiating cooperation among various social forces in Poland, so desperate that they have forgotten the experiences of a dozen or so months ago and made another attempt. Once again the fate of young people is in the balance. Many of them (?will answer before) a harsher justice than usual of the law in force during the period of martial law, but this does not matter to the authors of the clashes. This indicates [word indistinct] their moral and political qualifications, whether or not they have the right to speak for anybody. But there is a certain optimistic element in these bitter experiences. The desperate attempts show that even they realize that they have no chance. [passage indistinct] It is regrettable that others have to bear the cost and that the whole of society has to bear the consequences, since all of this delays the process of building national accord and agreement.

3 May Symbol Abused

LD041108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 4 May 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] There are dates with symbolic significance in the history of every nation, dates which, like monuments, commemorate significant events that exert their educational influence on the patriotic upbringing of successive generations. We have many such dates on our Polish calendar -- both those such as 1 September which carry a warning, and those such as 22 July or earlier, 11 November, which symbolize the joy and hope of the rebirth of statehood. There are several such dates of great victorious noble surges of uprising and on this national calendar 3 May is a special date, not just because it commemorates the sign of wise and patriotic thinking so rare in our history, constructive thinking to match the epoch and even, as events have shown, thinking to match the times which came only after many years of defeat and slavery.

The democratic Constitution passed on 3 May 1791 was the symbol of Polish statehood for decades; it was the symbol of Polish national state unity. It is true that many controversies arose around that date, and that various ideological and political currents tried to take over the symbol of 3 May in order to thus obtain a particular proof of patriotic identity and a warrant authorizing them to shout: We and only we are Poles worthy of the name.

One does not need to look far into our history to recall who tried to abuse this symbol and for what purpose, and who tried to set it up in opposition to another symbol, 1 May. But if anyone wanted to read old newspapers, he would see with astonishment that the slogans calling on workers to boycott the 1 May holiday in the name of the joint, patriotic celebration of 3 May appeared 90 years ago in the press representing landed and capital interests. It was discovered even then that by cleverly sounding of a national -- or outright nationalistic -- note, one could at low cost introduce conceptual chaos and, especially in the minds of young people, oppose the (?class) content of socialism with (?catchy) slogans from the repertoire of bourgeois ideology. The 3 May tradition was used this way many times in a way that was deeply contradictory to the essence of the 3 May Constitution. It was consciously abused in an effort to attain goals that conflict with the interests of the nation, whose strength, unity and greatness was to have been served by the 3 May act.

When we look from this angle at the clashes which took place yesterday on the streets of Warsaw and several other Polish towns, it is hard not to wonder if we have not had enough of these historic analogies. Must it be so, that before the next generation learns to work for Poland, to build and (?defend) it, political gamesmen will turn up who, waving the 3 May symbol, will try to set young people against the most important thing for a Pole: his own state? Must it be so, that when the fate of all of us and of our state literally depends on Polish unity, people appear who are prepared to do anything to harm, to create (?facts) which are an obstacle to the building of unity? These are bitter questions; but as parents, as teachers, as patriots who want to lead our country toward a better fate than the one we ourselves found it in, we must find answers to them.

FOREIGN MEDIA REPORTAGE ON 3 MAY DEMONSTRATIONS

TANJUG Report

LD031632 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 3 May 82

[Report by Zoran Zlatanovic]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 3 May (TANJUG) -- This afternoon while the Sejm was in session on the other side of the city center street disturbances took place.

Security forces intervened to disperse the demonstrators. Equipped with special vehicles and protected by shields and helmets, members of the security forces used tear gas and even truncheons against the most aggressive demonstrators. There are injured citizens, and some were arrested. The demonstrators, mainly young people, continue to assemble in nearby streets. The authorities have taken exceptional security measures.

The demonstrations took place in front of the royal castle in the city district which is called Stare Miasto. In that same square this morning representatives of the Polish SD, one of the two parties which exist in the Polish political system in addition to the PZPR and which accepts the PZPR line and program, laid flowers. Today is considered a tradition of the SD. Some 191 years ago the Polish Sejm adopted the well-known constitution which was considered the most democratic legal act of its kind in Europe. And this year too, as in nearly all the postwar years, preparations have been made to mark the adoption of the "3 May Constitution". The SD did so this morning.

In the afternoon at 1400 the Sejm met. In the presence of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation; of Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council; and of members of the State Council and the government the proposed statement of the Sejm on Polish national accord was read. Then the deputies began the debate on this document.

Two hours later however in front of the royal castle, which has been turned into a museum of exceptional value, several thousand citizens gathered. Every hour throughout the morning central radio carried the warning by the minister of internal affairs to the effect that the ban on any kind of public assembly is still in force.

The curfew was lifted last night in the country after nearly 4 and 1/2 months. Today's street demonstrations had however, been indicated during the march organized in the same place unofficially on May Day and held at the same time as the official march.

Following today's demonstrations, observers do not rule out the possibility that in line with new powers the Warsaw voivoda will reintroduce the curfew in the capital. The authorities, however, had wanted 3 May to be specifically a symbol of national accord. In all likelihood it was for this reason that the Sejm was convened today with the main point on the agenda being the station on national accord.

While the Sejm debate on the declaration was in progress, the demonstrators, however, at the other side of the city center shouted different slogans, supporting the Solidarity Trade Union and demanding the release of Lech Walesa.

In the early evening the demonstrators again formed groups and started off in the direction of the city center. Observers believe that several thousand citizens of Warsaw took part in the demonstrations when they began. The capital is patrolled by mixed patrols, composed of members of the military militia and special security forces' detachments. The army, however, did not take part in dispersing the demonstrators.

AFP: Police Charge Rally

NC031504 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 May (AFP) -- Police today charged an estimated 10,000-odd demonstrators in Warsaw's royal castle square in support of the suspended independent trade union federation Solidarity.

A water cannon was used on the crowd, which withdrew to inside the old city, all other exits being blocked. There were audible explosions and visible smoke, indicating that police were using either teargas or percussion grenades.

The demonstrators, mostly young people, chanted: "Gestapo" and "Free Walesa" -- Lech Walesa, Solidarity leader interned under martial law. The demonstration, organised in answer to an appeal by Solidarity, marked the anniversary of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, a national holiday in pre-war Poland.

Last year, at Solidarity's initiative, the anniversary was marked by official ceremonies.

(In a report monitored in London last night by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Warsaw Radio said the government had warned Poles not to organize demonstrations, lectures or meetings of "cooperative organizations" without official permission.

(Despite "an important easing of martial law," restrictions remained on "marches, rallies, demonstrations, lectures and talks, pilgrimages and religious processions" outside church and "meetings of members of associations" and "cooperative organizations," the radio said.

(Violators face arrest and summary trial.) Shortly before 5 pm, police succeeded in clearing in demonstrators out of the square and encircled the old town.

Demonstrators fled from police charges into [words indistinct] back to taunt police.

The streets in the area were littered with red-and-white flags -- the colors both of Poland and Solidarity -- and grenade cases.

All Telephone Lines Said Cut

NC031902 Paris AFP in English 1900 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 May (AFP) -- All telephone links, both domestic and with foreign countries, were cut off in Warsaw late today as security forces clashed with demonstrators supporting the Solidarity trade union federation.

No official explanation was given.

Clandestine Radio Unheard

NC032009 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 May (AFP) -- A broadcast scheduled for 9 pm local today by the clandestine Radio Solidarity was unobtainable in central Warsaw, where Western news agencies have their bureaus. Instead the Polish state radio occupied the wavelength used on the two previous broadcasts by Radio Solidarity.

The first broadcast, on April 12, lasted eight minutes and was not jammed. A second transmission, on April 30, was difficult to hear and after five minutes was jammed.

Police-Union Clashes Continue

NC032006 Paris AFP in English 2002 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 May (AFP) -- Sporadic clashes between police and supporters of the suspended trade union federation Solidarity were continuing this evening in different parts of central Warsaw, reports said.

Shortly after 9 pm local, an estimated group of some 3,000 young persons confronted a police convoy behind the Culture Ministry. Police fired teargas grenades at the youngsters, who chanted "Down With the Junta" and "Solidarity" before fleeing for the city centre.

Another group of several hundred persons was seen a little farther away from the centre, carrying red-and-white Solidarity banners. There were no police in the sector.

SEJM DISCUSSES NATIONAL ACCORD, CURRENT PROBLEMS

Jaruzelski at Session

LD031232 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 May 82

[Excerpts] A minute ago a session of the Polish Sejm started.

Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa opened the session. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and members of the cabinet sat on the government benches while the chairman of the State Council, Henryk Jablonski, and other members of the State Council sat on their benches.

The deputies' benches and the diplomatic and press boxes are full as well as the public gallery. There are many representatives of the world of culture, writers, film workers and visual artists. Let me remind you that today's meeting is dedicated mainly to the most vital issues of our national culture.

State Council Changes Discussed

LD031346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 May 82

[Excerpts] An hour ago, the first spring session of the Sejm began.

Before opening the proceedings, the chamber honored with a minute's silence the memory of the recently deceased deputy, Wladyslaw (?Getczyk). The Sejm speaker, Stanislaw Gucwa, then presented the draft declaration of the Sejm put forward by the Convent of Elders at the initiative of the Sejm Presidium. The declaration concerns the implementation of the Sejm February resolution on the issue of national accord.

The declaration confirms the will to create and consolidate a broad platform of cooperation of the all the nation's forces, of all people of good will, regardless of their views and membership of an organization. Pointing out the harmful nature of all destructive activities, the Sejm appeals for the implementation of the idea of nationalaccord as supreme and so much needed by Poland at the present time.

Similar thoughts were contained in the speeches during the deputies' debate by Jozef Barecki, who spoke on behalf of the PZPR parliamentary club Jerzy Grzybczak, on behalf of the United Peasant Party parliamentary club; and Marceli Faska, on behalf of the Democratic Party parliamentary club.

The discussion on the draft Sejm declaration is continuing; and I remind you that the agenda of the 2-day deleberations envisages the following points: a report on government policy in the field of science and culture to be presented by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski; a report of the Commission of Culture and Art and the Commission for Legislative Work; a report on the government bills on a national cultural council and a cultural development fund and also on the office of the minister of culture and art.

The agenda was augmented today with these points: a report by the Commission for Science and Technical Progress and by the Commission for Legislative Work on the bill on higher education; and a change in the composition of the Council of State.

Resolution on National Accord

LD031736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 3 May 82

[Speech by Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa presenting draft declaration at 3 May Sejm session in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] May it please the house. In a resolution adopted at the session in February, the Sejm instructed the Sejm Presidium to undertake, with deputies' clubs and circles, essential initiatives for the idea of national accord and to submit relevant proposals to the Sejm. Implementing this resolution, the Convent of Elders, at the initiative of the Sejm Presidium, presents the following draft resolution of the Sejm.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, assembled on the 3 May anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution, referring to the concept of the Constitution, declares its will to consolidate the strength of the state, to implement economic, social and political reforms, and to create conditions for a successful development of the homeland. The Sejm reaffirms its support for the patriotic movement aimed at the cooperation of all citizens in national rebirth.

In the stormy years of 1980 and 1981 were born ideas, views and actions which anarchized social life and were destroying the economy. The introduction of martial law put a barrier against the destructive processes and restored to Poland its credibility within the framework of the alliance of socialist states. Essential premises arose, making possible a gradual return to the normal functioning of the state possible. From the experiences of the post-August period it is necessary to preserve everything that was an expression of the justified strivings of working people to take co-decisions on their own matters, and to discard that which might imperil the interests of the socialist state.

We are facing an immensity of tasks. It is necessary to regenerate the homeland, to create conditions for preventing destructive crises from recurring and from an arrangement of our affairs that will be in accord with the principles of socialism as a political system of social justice and at the same time guarantee a harmony between the interests of the society and of the individual, the development of personality and respect for each person. We must overcome the economic and social crisis and restore to Poland the place it deserves in the contemporary world.

The alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries constitute a guarantee of Poland's security in Europe. The credibility of this alliance has been confirmed in a period difficult for our country by the economic assistance given to us. The Sejm expresses its profound conviction that the Polish nation has sufficient strength to overcome the crisis and to achieve a full realization of production potential and to secure for the community adequate living conditions.

In Poland we have a great intellectual potential; there are material resources; there is a sufficient amount of land to provide food for the nation. All that is needed is a unity of action, productive work, efficient management and goods organization. We must translate our potential capabilities into reality. We are striving for this. Recent months have been filled with the efforts of the Military Council of National Salvation and the government, (?a great contribution of the party), broad activities of political parties and organizations. The economic reform is being implemented and a significant production growth has occurred in a number of departments of industry, in particular in the extraction industry. Deliveries of agricultural products are taking better shape. The state public safety has been improved. Emotions are calming down. Social order is stabilizing, and the will for positive work for the good of the homeland is beginning to prevail.

The Sejm states with satisfaction that the restrictions stemming from the state of martial law have been further much eased in the past few months, and declares that it will support all actions which serve stabilization, will restore the normal functioning of the state and of all the institutions of socialist democracy. The Sejm points out the great harmfulness and impermissibility of all attempts to sow confusion and to incite the community against the legal authorities.

We are aware that active internal and external centers are interested in setting Poles against one another and in weakening the efforts of the overwhelming majority of society, which desires stabilization and a consistent implementation of the program of renewal. One must resolutely oppose these destructive activities. The Sejm is actively participating in the shaping of the indispensable transformations, and has enriched the state with a series of legal regulations which improve its mechanisms and make credible the process of renewal and deepened socialist democracy. Laws connected with the economic reform have been adopted. The farmers have gained fundamental guarantees assuring a proper development of the peasant economy. The Sejm states its support for a gradual setting in motion of workers' self-management, which will further the improvement in thrift, increase work motivation and the better exploitation of the material resources. Work will be renewed on the laws on trade unions and on farmers' self-management. The adoption of the laws on the people's councils and on local self-management, and on cooperatives [word indistinct] will be of great significance. The further democratization of our system finds its expression in a deepening of the coalition system of cooperation on behalf of the development of the state.

(?The work) of transforming the life of our country is far from completion. It is necessary that efforts be continued to create and consolidate a platform for cooperation among all the forces of the nation, the party, the political parties, the trade unions and youth unions, the social organizations and creative associations, and all people of good will, regardless of their opinions and organizational affiliation. One has to construct a climate of social trust and a universal correct understanding of the fundamental affairs of the Polish state and the national existence. The Sejm of the Polish People's Reoublic, confirming the opinion it expressed in the declaration of 26 February this year, positively assesses the achievement hitherto of the movement of civic committees of national salvation and rebrith. The Sejm expects that initiatives will be taken in the area of a gradual construction of the structures and principles of this movement, and expresses confidence that this movement can make its valuable contribution to the extension of citizens' participation in the running of the economy, in shaping the life of particular milieus, in resolving social problems at places of work and residence. The cooperation between the civic committees of national rebirth and the local [word indistinct] of the National Unity Front, with the self-management of inhabitants, and with other kinds of self-management, will serve to arouse social energy, to release civic initiatives (?and the feeling) of a sense of joint responsibility for our shared fortunes.

The inspiration for these actions ought to lie in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress. Such an inspiration is also represented in the resolutions of the recent congresses of the political parties. The initiatives of the Sejm and the government ought to further this. One also has to exploit the numerous civic initiatives which have been generated, and are being generated, in various milieus. All these undertakings in accordance with the Constitution, with the legal order of our state, and with the principles of its socialist system, will enrich the contents of our social life and consolidate the process of renewal. The civic committees of national rebirth ought to make their essential contribution of dialogue with society. Our fatherland is the community of all Poles. The state and the nation must represent an indissoluble unity in which the citizen and the authorities bestow mutual respect and trust upon each other.

We esteem the role of the Catholic Church and of the other churches and denominational associations in the joint creation of just such a climate.

We appeal to all Poles: May the general patriotic movement on behalf of national rebirth emcompass the broadest social circles. May everyone who is not opposed to the principles we proclaim be with us in heart and mind, in thought and in deed, in their implementation. We appeal to the workers, the managers of our socialist enterprises, for them to help with their thoughts and work in the overcoming of the economic crisis, for them to take care for the quality of the products created and for thrifty management, for them to create good relations between people. We appeal to the farmers to garner the greatest possible yield from every hectare of Polish land, and to make every farm an example of thrift and productive work, which is the only thing that can assure the country of self-sufficiency in feeding its citizens. We appeal to the Polish intelligentsia, for it (?to use its work,) its talent, to enrich the general national achievement.

We appeal to Polish women -- who through their patriotic attitude have supported all actions that further the good of the fatherland during the most difficult periods of history -- now, when Poland is in need, through their concern in bringing up the younger generation, through their work and attitude, to contribute to the stabilization of the country and to the consolidation of social links. We have complete understanding for the needs of the young, for their ambitions and hopes; we will go out to meet the correct postulates and initiatives of the younger generation. We want to stress the significance of the engagement of the young in action for the development of Poland. We believe that the efforts we are undertaking for national birth will meet with the support of the millions of Poles scattered throughtout the world. The Sejm expects the leadership of the political parties to (?initiate) the essential organizational undertakings, which, through the support of the broad masses of nonparty people, will favor the implementation of the assumptions of this (?understanding).

The Sejm expresses the conviction that, unified around the supreme interests of the state and the nation, in solidarity and in cooperation in all sectors of our life, we can extricate ourselves from this situation if we assess in unison the real conditions for our political existence, if we draw the correct conclusions from the experiences of the past and concentrate our entire energy on work for the future.

National Accord Resolution Adopted

LD031920 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 May 82

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, today has been filled with significant political events.

The Sejm unanimously adopted an appeal for reconciliation and national accord. Not for the first time the highest authority of our state stressed the policy of the extended hand. But today's Sejm resolution was made in political conditions which are different to those prevailing when appeals were issued before 13 December. Because of the introduction of martial law nobody can now suppose that the hand extended for national reconciliation is the hand of a weak and helpless partner.

Rakowski Address

LD032044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 3 May 82

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, at 3 May Sejm session in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Excerpts] Citizen speaker, esteemed chamber: The government welcomes with satisfaction and approval the declaration just adopted by the esteemed chamber. It is one of those contemporary documents which contains statements important for the times in which we live. The esteemed chamber's declaration also contains a summing up of that part of the road which Poland has traversed since 13 December 1981. It has been a difficult and dramatic road.

Calling for patriotic feelings, the declaration calls on all Poles to take an active part in creating a movement of national rebirth. The government, on behalf of which I have the honor to speak today, supports that appeal and declares active support for it by initiatives and decisions to remove the obstacles hampering or holding back the strengthening and broadening of the movement of national rebirth. We will also support it with legislative initiatives confirming our will to implement a policy in accordance with the program approved by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This program, as the strategic interpretation of the leading force of our nation, has been supported by the allied parties, the ZSL and the SD.

Joint participation by the representatives of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD and the lay Catholic associations in the government creates today a political configuration in which all the nation's constructive forces can and do find a place. A genuine partnership and harmonious cooperation for the good of the socialist state are implemented in them. The broadening of the government's coalition nature, in which nonparty experts also participate, is an important element in the transformations our country is going through. Building unity through cooperation and the unification of socially varied, patriotic forces is in accordance with the best traditions of Polish statehood. It is symbolized by today's date: 3 May.

The 3 May Constitution, born out of [word indistinct] worries preying on the most enlightened Polish minds, a lasting and great monument to progressive political thought, was an attempt to save the dying Polish state, to modernize it and equip it with authority and strength. It was an attempt to create the foundations for uniting the efforts of Poles, despite the existence of deep class divides, toward the goal of saving the state and independence. That attempt did not at the time bring the expected results. Many years later, Aleksander Bruckner stated quite correctly, that the 3 May Constitution was more a testament than a program.

Thus 3 May is also an anniversary which today, too, remains as a warning against unfulfilled opportunity. Today, a dozen or so years before the end of the 20th century, the circumstances in which Poland has found itself present as the main task the consolidation of the Polish state and the restoration of Polish unity around the goals mapped out by socialism, by the ideas of socialism in the wisely understood national interest. However, we are making our say toward these goals under different conditions which existed on 3 May 1791. They are worth recalling for many reasons, especially today, on the eve of the anniversary of the victory of German fascism, which took place with the active and selfless participation of the Polish soldier.

For 37 years the Polish nation has been living within borders that are advantageous to it -- borders whose permanence and security are founded on the historical achievement of People's Poland and on the allied guarantees, above all those of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in the political defensive Warsaw Treaty. For 37 years People's Poland has been implementing with regard to its neighbors a policy based on the principles of friendship and mutual confidence. Thanks to the many-sided cooperation, jointly with our allies, we are weakening and removing from the national consciousness those prejudices and aversions which the owner classes inculcated into the nations of eastern and central Europe over hundreds of years. It is a process which calls for time and for a clear political idea defined in a long-term historical perspective. A political idea of this kind, having its genealogy in the internationalist idea of brotherhood, in the unity of the interests of working people, and in the vital needs of the nation and the state, was presented to the Polish nation -- while World War II was still going on -- by the Polish communists and by the left socialists and Radical Peasant Party members and democrats who formed a joint political front with them. It was on their initiative that Poland -- entering the post-war world -- carried out a great revolution, including the sphere of domestic politics. It essence lay in breaking with several centuries of traditional foreign policy, the eastern current of which did not mean peaceful cooperation and concerted joint action, but strife, tension and war. The Poland of the interwar years continued this orientation.

The distinguished scholar Jozef Kalaczynski in a sketch entitled: Contemporary School Reforms and the Idea of the Nation and of Socialism, published in November (?1947) wrote among other things: Poland cannot be the bulwark against the USSR for capitalist Europe, and cannot be the Bulwark against the capitalist West for a socialist USSR. Poland must belong to Europe, along with the USSR; otherwise Poland will continue to lie on the trail of war and destruction. The [word indistinct] orientation of Poland during the interwar years -- the professor continued -- was based on the assumptions that Europe ends with Poland. Changing this intellectual orientation is one of the fundamental goals of the reform of Polish schools -- at all levels, from the primary school to the university.

Conscious of the historical and revolutionary dimension of the new orientation in foreign policy which was beneficial for Poland, and initiated by the Polish Workers' Party, and which is shared and supported by progressive forces thinking and acting in the spirit of realism, we have always aimed and will aim at strengthening the friendly, fraternal and partnerly cooperation with the nations of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. All those actions which, during the period August through December [1981] struck the foundations of friendship between Poland and the socialist countries, and in particular the Polish-Soviet alliance, must be regarded as political madness.

One has to speak clearly and definitely about these matters, because they relate to the most important national reasons and interests. The reanimation of the spirit of anti-Sovietism; the renewal of tendentious discussion about facts and events which at times were of a dramatic dimension, but which belonged to the past; the agitation of the public -- and especially of the youth -- by these means, cannot be explained by youthfulness -- that is, by the movement's lack of experience. Unfortunately, it was deliberate action, leading to the overthrow of the peaceful European order on which the existence of the Polish state is founded. It is thrusting our country into the position of an object of contention in the politics of imperialist circles. That -- nothing else -- would be the finale of anti-Sovietism.

Today, more than yesterday, it is known that the inspirers of these activities were not just the home-grown opponents of socialism, who had sprung more than once from the ranks of the classic Polish right, who sickened with vertigo through their temporary successes; it was their foreign patrons, too. It is well-known in U.S. Government circles who in the White House, in the State Department, in the Pentagon, was interested in and favored the activities that gave birth to the political destabilization of Poland and in raising the anti-Soviet wave. They were the people who planned a change in the balance of forces to the benefit of the imperialist camp, a change -- obviously -- at the cost of the Polish nation. Their hopes were cut off resolutely by the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON]. Today, too, the same forces continue to strive to butt in on our internal affairs, making ultimatums, warnings and threats to the government. They perhaps continue to count on an explosion, on a confrontational development of events in our country. One can only express surprise that the authors of this policy have not drawn any realistic conclusions from the experiences of the past few months. The Polish Government declares, that regardless of the difficulties created for the country by the U.S. administration, it will continue to direct its policies in accordance with our raisons d'etat with the reasons of the nation, its present and future. Those who think the process of the alleviation of martial law is a sign of our weakness or of our bending to the demands and pressures of external or internal forces are in error.

Citizen deputies. An immense social storm has swept over Poland in the past 2 years. Protests against distortions of socialism, strivings for full justice, for an active participation of the taking of decisions on public matters, for respecting the right and dignity of the citizen, have made themselves heard. These aspirations and striving found expression in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Numerous groups of working people sought to fulfill their aspirations and strivings in Solidarity, in the industrial trade unions which were reforming themselves, in the newly set up autonomous trade unions, and in many social organizations. This is what they expected from representative organs.

These positive strivings of the period between August and December constitute an inviolable part of the achievements of People's Poland. We shall carry them into effect and continue them. As far as our attitude to the August agreements is concerned, the government sees no need to define its stance again. On several occasions last year we made public the reports on the implementation of the decisions contained in these documents. It was not the government that did not observe the agreements. It was someone else and not the government who ought to confess publicly, a widespread violation of the obligations solemnly taken upon themselves. [applause]

However, anarchic and destructive processes aimed against socialism constituted the other side of the coin of this immense social storm which swept over Poland. They disrupted -- and in the second half of 1981 actually paralyzyed and made impossible -- the implementation of the tasks of socialist renewal and the overcoming of the crisis, endangering the foundations of statehood and of national existence. In the psychological war which is currently being waged against the leadership of the PZPR, the government and the commanders of the Polish People's Army, an attempt is being made to convince Polish and world public opinion that martial law was introduced only so that the new movement which arose on the wave of the justified protest of working class -- the leaders of which declared its trade union character in August 1980 -- would vanish from the Polish scene. This is an accusation calculated at stirring the crucible of Polish affairs, at sowing confusion and keeping up the spirits of oppositional and anticommunist elements.

The dramatic move which the WRON decided to take was dictated by the need to halt the conscious and thoughtless destruction of the foundations on which the most precious edifice for Poles was erected: the Polish state, situated on purely Polish lands. If this truth is not accepted even today by some of our fellow-countrymen, the government is convinced that time and experience which life and the implementation of ideas contained in the program of socialist renewal will bring, will make it credible. Facts will compel those who even today do not want or cannot reconcile themselves to what took place on 13 December to critical reflection.

The decisions adopted in the last few days by the WRON, the reduction of the difficulties which the state of martial law brought into the everyday life of the Polish nation, and also the continuous reduction in the number of interned persons provide a visible sign of the calming of relations and moods after the shock which was necessary to extricate the country from the depths of the political and economic crisis which marked the situation in Poland on the eve of 13 December.

However, this is a complex and complicated process. Alongside the millions of citizens who think in realistic and patriotic terms and who act constructively there are also people who consciously and deliberately set out to wage a holy war against people's power, who produce leaflets and who organize underground activities as well as various demonstrations and incidents. Although these are but marginal phenomena on the scale of a nation of 36 million, we are not making light of them because they delay the process of normalization in social and political relations and hinder the surmounting of the crisis. We warn political adventurists: Every infringement of the law will meet with a determined response by the authorities. Poland needs internal peace, and the government will ensure this peace. [applause]

Letters are being sent to the government and to the editorial boards of the press, radio and television, from which it emerges that both the circumstances that caused the introduction of martial law and the realities of martial law continue to be the object of talk, discussion, and also various kinds of speculation. This is understandable since the introduction of martial law in Poland was undoubtedly an event of historic dimensions and it had its dramaturgy [as heard] too, which cannot be erased from the national memory.

And it does not have to be erased since it is one of the important and edifying experiences undergone by our national collectivity.

The questions as to when martial law will be lifted and what will be the shape of our political and social life are also understandable. What will emerge from the current difficult trials? I wish to present to the esteemed house -- and through its mediation to broad public opinion -- the governent's view on this matter.

As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has already stated in public on several occasions, the introduction of martial law was aimed not only at restoring order and harmony in the state, although at the outset this goal was most important, it was also a matter of arresting the disintegration of the economy, of making it possible to begin the process of implementing economic reform, a difficult undertaking and one beset with pitfalls, especially when we take into account the extraordinarily difficult economic situation in which our country continues to find itself. The economic reform -- as well as many decisions causing profound transformations in socioeconomic and political structures -- could be implemented only in a situation free of the destructive treatment of the state and of the law, and free from the attitudes and phenomena which trace their origins from anticommunism and of the insensate desire to destroy the shared national values and to break the social links which need to be preserved and cherished.

The course of Polish affairs between August and December was very heavily weighed down by the fact that the political configuration created by the extremist leaders of Solidarity and their advisers -- viewing the matter practically -- ruled out the possibility of overcoming the crisis along with the implementation of the economic reform. Poland was shaken by strikes, tensions and demonstrations. The government and the administrative apparatus, administrative and economic, ceaselessly blackmailed by the threat of strikes, lost the chance of actively affecting the ongoing and in particular long-term economic and social development of the country. The continual raising of (?disputes) and unreal wage and social demands devastated the Polish economy and the coming winter threatened downright incalculable consequences. The continual appeals to oppose the authorities and to block its activities impaired work discipline and resulted in increasing slackness.

We hear that these destructive phenomena were the outcome of spontaneous activities. It is already a historical fact that in July and August 1980, that is, during the initial wave of the social protest, the spontaneous outbursts represented an inseparable part. But later matters came to assume an increasingly deliberate and planned turn. There are numerous proofs of this, and we can only express our amazement that many Solidarity activists still continue to expatiate on their helplessness in the face of the alleged spontaneity.

As a result of a deliberate policy by the Solidarity leaders Poland was threatened with economic ruin including the blocking of the process of the introduction of the necessary changes and reforms, both in the economic sphere and in the social sphere. It is obvious that this policy could not inspire confidence among the economic and administrative cadres with regard to Solidarity and to its national and local leaders who, after all, after August 1980 kept assuring the authorities about their readiness to cooperate loyally and to comply with the principles of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

Today no one who has a sense of responsibility can give an assurance that in the period that has elapsed since 13 December the sources for the stream of demagogy inciting activities which were ruinous in their nature have run completely dry. The most active among the opponents of socialism are at present seeking to mobilize society for the struggle against the authorities; they want to fight against everything which leads to the stabilization of the situation. Among these activities we should also place the attempts made in a few cities and aimed at disrupting the course of the May Day celebrations.

The organizers of this action failed to respect even the exceptional character of this year's festival, the centenary of the inception of the Polish workers' movement. However, against the backdrop of the mass participation of the working people in the processions and general meetings organized by the party and the allied parties, the aforementioned initiative and attempt at causing disturbance appears to be a venture which has politically failed. It is obvious, however, that activities of this kind are damaging to the nation as a whole because they delay the process of normalization.

May it please the house. It is true that we are experiencing the most serious crisis in the history of People's Poland whose consequences manifest themselves both in the social and economic spheres and in the moral, ideological and political fields as well. In view of this fact it is obvious that we are facing an extraordinary situation which requires extraordinary measures. Today the extraordinary measures are provided by the state of martial law. Under its protection, a gradual return to the normal functioning of the state and national economy is taking place.

The creation of political and economic conditions which will make it unnecessary to use this particular measure is not only a matter for the government and for all levels of authority, but also -- and perhaps most of all -- a matter for society. The provision of internal peace which Poland needs so badly, and this does not mean stagnation or inertia, will depend above all on the sense of responsibility of the entire nation for the fate of the country, today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. The government is consistently pursuing a policy aimed at restoring credibility to authority. This is a difficult task but one that can be achieved. We shall do our best in order that the economic reform and the resultant changes in many spheres of life will favor the increased effectiveness of management and the implementation of the principles of social justice. We shall also seek to ensure a genuine, meaningful -- and not only formal -- participation of the working people in the processes of making and implementing decisions. This participation will be widened in representative bodies, in the elements of the employees' self-management system which are now being regenerated, and also in the future trade union movement. At present a discussion is in progress on the future image of trade unions. This is a necessary discussion although, strictly speaking, trade unions have only been suspended.

It follows from the discussion that public opinion is much more varied today than a few months ago in its assessment of the role and tasks of trade unions within a socialist system. And here lies the value of this discussion. Participation in the discussion has so far been shunned by a considerable proportion of the membership of Solidarity, either of their own will or as a result of persuasion by their leaders. It seems that some activists of that organization do not wish or are not able to understand that no matter what form the future trade union movement assumes, Solidarity of the period before December 1981, solidarity acting as an oppositionist political force, can no longer return to the Polish scene. [applause] It is necessary to regard the appeals made by the leaders of Solidarity to maintain resistance and to demand the reestablishment of the union such as it revealed itself in Radom toward the end of last year as a pointless and politically harmful action. At the same time I want to stress with full force that we shall support the reconstruction of the trade union movement, self-governing and independent in the performance of its functions of protecting and representing the living and social conditions of the working people. In the trade union movement which will be reborn, no matter what form it assumes, there will certainly be room for all those members and activists of Solidarity who desired a renewal of the trade union movement and not a political party opposing socialism.

From the circles which oppose the current policy of the party and the government come charges of an attempt to return to the days before August 1980, to the methods of government which led to the crisis. These charges frequently come from politicians and would-be politicians who have lost and failed to take over power.

And yet they were already in the process of dividing this power among themselves. In the first stage they were planning graciously to leave three ministerial departments to the communists. Their concern for socialist renewal is false. Now they are writing manifestos and appeals in which they seek to prove that they were not at all interested in gaining power and that they are the only ones who know what to do to turn Poland into a land of universal bliss. At first they made a decisive contribution to the catastrophic worsening of the crisis and to the growing anarchy of social and economic life; now they don the cloak of martyrs and sages.

We do not need such counsellors. We know full well without them that the policy of socialist renewal is a historic necessity: just as much a necessity is the counteraction against the emergency of deviations in social and economic policy which are ruinous for the country, as well as the counteraction against the return of the worst disease of authority -- arrogance.

We believe that if today a proportion of public opinion is still treating our policy with mistrust, tomorrow it will join in active participation in the shaping of social and economic order which will restore to Poland its due place among the nations of the world. To stand aside, to go over to the so-called internal emigration, amounts to a wrong choice, a fruitless one. Those who are absent deprive themselves of the possibility of influencing the course of events, and, in the long run, their own destiny. We direct these words, in particular, to the postwar generation of Poles -- young workers and farmers, students and intelligentsia, both in the field of technology and the humanities.

Young Poles took an active part in the changes which spread throughout Poland after August 1980. This happened because they did not accept the defects which existed in social and poliitcal life. They protested not because of ill-will to socialism but because they saw too little consistency in the pursuance of socialist ideals in the Polish reality. They protested because they are a down-to-earth generation, distrusting long delcarations which are not borne by life and practical experience.

We are unable to ensure for young Poles, in the next few years, material conditions commensurate with their expectations. At the same time we do not intend to win them over with a prospect of cheap advancement or good career prospects, to reward them for the right attitude and for toeing the line. We wish to win their hearts and minds in a frank conversation about the tangled history of our nation, about the class conditioning of political action, about the laws that govern politics and economics. We want to win over the young generation with the vision of a socialist Poland that has been put in order, emerging effectively out of the crisis, changing obsolete systems in a wise and prudent manner along with methods of management and of the sharing of material assets. We do not treat lightly the hesitations, dilemmas and uncertainties which they experience when they listen to our delcarations and assurances. But we are of the opinion that skepticism, even if justified, should not lead to an attitude of indifference, to standing aside. This kind of attitude is in fact contrary to the essence of youth; it amounts to neither romanticism or positivism. It is simply indeterminate.

May it please the house, when we look today at the present situation of Poland in a rather wider perspective we cannot say that we are no longer threatened by a national disaster. This disaster would probably amount today not to a loss of statehood; that is our independent existence -- this threat has been removed -- but it would amount to Poland's defeat in the contemporary race for progress and civilization, living standards, scientific development and culture. After all, we have already been left behind and pushed down the line -- both as regards our economy and our civilization -- in comparison with many other nations. A further loss of ground would create a threat whose effects would be felt not only on our contemporary destiny but also on the fate of future genrations. In order to avert this threat it is necessary to put into motion levers capable of propelling us into the future; in other words, it is necessary to take identical or similar action to what was adopted by the patriots of the great Sejm of 1791. These levers include the sciences and culture.

This is the main reason why the government today submits to the house the following draft bills: On the setting up of a National Council on Culture and a fund for cultural development, on the office of minister of culture and arts and on the higher educational establis-ments. On behalf of the government I would like to convey sincere thanks to the members of the Sejm commissions concerned for the vast amount of work put into the final formulation of these draft bills.

In the conditions of the state of martial law, when the activities of some of the creative unions are still suspended, when a proportion of the artists' fraternity still refused to coopertae and certain little politically intoxicated groups engage in activities aimed against the state authority and attempt to exert psychological pressure on those who regard a boycott as a socially and politically improper attitude, the decision to submit these draft bills has evoked doubts as to the expediency of this step. However, the government argues from the position that the existence of the state of martial law and the facts mentioned above must not mean a postponement of matters and issues requiring statutory regulation. This is true also of the sphere of science and culture. The present draft bills provide yet another important example of the implementation by the government of the policy outlined in the WRON declaration of 13 December and confirmed and developed at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Higher educational establishments which fulfill three important functions -- scholarly instructional and educative -- constitute an integral part of the world of knowledge. The government, while respecting the broad framework of the autonomy and self-management of state tertiary educational establishments, demands that the cadres of scholars and educators should instruct students in such a way as to ensure that they are able to take an effective part in the strengthening of our socialist republic. It is the patriotic duty of the cadres of scholars and educators to bring up young people in the spirit of respect for law, a realistic appraisal of phenomena in spiritual life and material life, a critical attitude toward evil, together with an unambiguous affirmation of the lasting benefits of socialism. As regards the limits of the autonomy of higher education establish-ments, they must be designated by the interests of a wider community, defined by the policy of the socialist state. Only this interpretation of autonomy can be profitable to the country and the nation. The activities of schools and other educational establishments must be ancillary to the life of society and the program of the activities of the state, which is the main organizer of the collective effort of the nation.

Our multiform and varied culture is the basis of the rivalry and even struggle and conflict between different assets. In this strife victory should be attained by socialist culture, that is culture which derives its inspiration from the struggle of the working class, which takes up and adopts those leitmotifs in the national tradition and in the universal tradition, which are linked with progress, with the emancipation of the working masses, with defense against injustice, with a rational and courageous discovery of the world and with the liberation of the human personality. We will favor this culture, seeing in it the force mobilizing society and a morally constructive force, a force which prepares man for the hardships and challenges that await him.

While speaking about science and culture it is impossible to omit the issue of freedom. We are talking about freedom at a moment when the dramatic times in which we live have limited certain civil liberties. However, we realize that this is a special, transient period, during which much had to be sacrificed to save all. At the same time, we know equally well that without creative freedom both the development of science and the development of culture are impossible. Inquiring curiosity is a natural feature of human beings; humanity owes all its achievements to this quality, and only in theological systems is it possible to define limits at which this curiosity must stop.

Similarly, the freedom of the search for new assets, the wish to understand the world and to explain it to others, and also the search for the sense of human life and for the meaning of the existence of every one of us amount to a fundamental force of the development of human nature. Through science and culture man is able to put his freedom to a specific use, and this is his inalienable right.

Nevertheless, one must ask the question? Are their any limits to this freedom, and where are they to be found? In research studies and creative activities we can see no limits or barriers. In political life, that is also in the political involvement of science and creativity we should be guided by the principle that the limit of one man's freedom is to be found in another man, his welfare, his right to life and to similar freedom. At the same time, the reply which we must formulate from the position of the socialist state is that the limit of freedom is determined by the good of human community, the good of the national community, the good of the Polish socialist state which, in our conditions, is the only guarantor of the interests of that community. The lesson of history which we received recently indicates that in the world of today, divided into two contending camps, nothing else but the socialist state is in a position to ensure for our nation the integrity of its territory, its sovereignty, stability and prospects of development. This community of national interests which constitutes the Polish state has the right to demand that the right to freedom be limited where and when the results of this right threaten the very existence of that state, the socialist foundations of the state system, its alliances and its reasons of state.

We want to create a system of cultural and scholarly creativity which would be capable of ensuring foundations for social progress, without which the struggle for the future of Poland becomes gradually impossible, and at the same time to ensure that this system of freedom would not jeopardize the very subject of our concern, that is socialist Poland.

May it please the house, the problems connected with the present and future development of culture and sciences, submitted by the government for discussion in the Sejm, are addressed by us particularly to the Polish intelligentsia, to the intellectual and creative centers. The government is watching attentively the discussions held by intelligentsia on the recent past and on the future of Poland. The government is also analyzing carefully the attitudes that have been displayed. These discussions are connected not only with the present economic and political situation but also with the trends and tendencies which manifested themselves particularly sharply among the intelligentsia in the period from August 1980 through December 1981. Many scholars and artists took an active part in the ranks of Solidarity. A large proportion of them represented the prudent tendency, sought to attenuate trends aiming at confrontation, and tried to find a compromise. We appreciate this attitude and we bear it in mind. However, many people let themselves be carried away on a wave of emotion, frequently voiced extreme views and thus objectively -- whether consciously or unconsciously -- were lending support to tendencies and activities which were harmful to the interests of the country, to social peace and socialist renewal. We are prepared to disregard this, too. We realize what situations have led to such attitudes. The condition, however, is a constructive attitude to the problems of today. A readiness to participate in the overcoming of the crisis and in promoting stabilization. What we cannot accept and must react to ideologically, politically and -- if necessary -- by employing the state law, is the continuation of oppositionist activities aimed against the legitimate system of law and order and the constitutional authorities of the country.

Recognizing the sensitivity of scholars, artists and cultural workers to the phenomena occuring in the world in which they live, and particularly to social phenomena, we do not accept neutral attitudes because they are contrary to the vocation of the creators of culture, signify a petty-minded form of shunning participation in the life of the community and lock the intellectual within the circle of timid private interests. We do not accept internal emigration, because not only does it cause loss to the nation but it also harms the individual who chooses such an attitude. The status of an alien in his own home country leads a creative author to bitterness and loss of significance. We do not intend to constrain authors and artists so that it is difficult for them to move around and sometimes even to breathe.

The permanent principles of the government's policy on culture and sciences, the policy of the socialist state, are generally known. This policy aims at ensuring unrestricted development of various forms of creativity and scientific research in a multitude of directions. The sponsorship of the state covers all creative trends in the humanities. One cannot fail to recall at this point that it was only in People's Poland that artists and scholars had created for them working conditions worthy of their caliber and talent.

Thanks to the profound cultural and educational revolution which took place after 1945 on Polish land they gained an auditorium of which they could have only dreamt under capitalism. For these reasons, among other things, the government is of the opinion that it not only has the duty to ensure the creation of beneficial material and social conditions for creative milieux, but it also has the right on behalf of the working world, of the working and peasant class, to demand that its work be of a progressive character, that it refrain from striking at the historical achievements of socialism and that it makes a contribution to the consolidation of its values.

Our party is a Marxist-Leninist party. We are building our system on the basis of the scientific principles of socialism. We are consciously striving for science, in particular the social sciences, to develop in the Marxist direction. We hold the view that this is the most fruitful direction. We want to have recourse to the sources, to free ourselves from accretions and distortions, from pseudo-Marxism. Marxism, as every science, does not need a hothouse atmosphere; it is not afraid of rivalry; it can and wants to draw on and adapt creatively whatever is rational and progressive, (?something that converges) in other trends and schools of science.

Our policy with regard to academic milieux and the creators of culture will be characterized by an application of clear criteria formulated not in the quite of offices but publicly. Our policy will be resolute and we intend to justify it publicly. We want to persuade and attract, not put off and banish. Even if in the swirl of the great and sudden transformations which our nation is undergoing certain extremes make themselves felt, these phenomena ought to be seen in the proper proportions. They constitute the side effects of the political tension in which we have been living for almost 2 years. They are a result of the simplification by some people of the complicated issues of social life.

As far as the government is concerned, we shall not run out of patience and understanding for the fact that people's views are a fruit which takes a long time to ripen and requires a suitable climate. The National Council of Culture will undoubtedly be conducive to the creation of such a climate, that is if the house sees fit to set it up, of course.

Without minimizing the sharpness of the political struggle which is now being waged in Poland in almost every milieu, the government expresses the conviction of many generations, including the tradition of the initial postwar years -- and let us recall that the 3 year restoration plan and the 6 year plan were implemented with the active participation of the intelligentsia of the interwar period -- that the intelligentsia will support its activities in the difficult and laborious work to extricate Poland from the crisis. We are counting on its help and cooperation. If we help one another in everyday life, and perhaps sometimes even argue about significant issues, it will be all the better for us, for our common cause.

May it please the house. The issue of national accord is one of the great subjects in the political life of the country. The declaration if the house calls for it, too. The idea of national accord now has a history. It is necessary to recall that on 30 October last year, Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski submitted to the house the proposal for the creation of a council on national accord. This was one of the last attempts to save the imperiled national existence. In spite of the nearly universal support for this initiative by the community, the setting up of the council did not come about.

It was not the fault of the people's authorities. The good will of all the sides was necessary. Some of the sides did not have this good will. They simply did not want partnership; they wanted a monopoly. Today the debate about national accord must take into account the changed political situation of the country and the changed configuration of political forces, new circumstances which have arisen as a result of the introduction of martial law -- or, to be exact, a state of emergency. The idea of national accord must not be reduced to a single solemnly signed enactment, and one cannot strive to achieve it on the basis that the authorities are on one side and the community on the other. It is a false division, unfavorable for the country, which suggests that the people's authorities have different aims from those of the community.

This division recalls the days and months when many Solidarity leaders treated the authorities as a hostile force. With such a premise national accord becomes utopia, it is impossible to achieve; and we all need it. Today, in practice, national accord can be realized only through strengthening and broadening the patriotic movement for national rebirth, through a return to moral and material values which today and tomorrow will decide Poland's fate. In this general movement, of which the civic committees of national rebirth are also carriers, there can be no high level contracting sides. At the same time, there is an equivalent place in it for every Polish man and women, for everybody who desires honestly and with conviction to act jointly in the difficult and lofty task of landing Poland out of the crisis.

In the national accord there is also room for all those citizens with Christian motivation, who operate on the basis of realism in the assessment of the situation and the perspectives of our nation, the acceptance of the principles of socialism. We extend our hand to them. We must mobilize the maximum part of the intellectual potential of our nation to the work of the state. That is why we want to be guided by the principle that who is not against us should be with us. More than 100 years ago Jozef (Krupnicki) wrote that nations which declined as the result of calamities, which they could not resist, or were not capable of resisting, but which have iron will, genuine education, diligence and a preference for common prosperity sometimes in a short period of time overtake others which [words indistinct] Let us accept these wise words as the motto of our efforts to restore the luster to People's Poland. Thank you. [applause]

3 May Session Concludes

LD032050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 May 82

[Excerpts] At today's session, Speaker of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa presented to the deputies the contents of the Sejm declaration proposed by the Convent of Elders on national accord. Following the speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Deputy Izydor Adamski rose to speak. Following this, the draft law on higher education was presented by Deputy Jan Janowski. Then the discussion on the government report and on the draft laws began. At 2100 the Sejm ended its session for today. The debate is to continue tomorrow morning.

Demonstrations Discussed 4 May

LD040836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 May 82

[Report by Sejm correspondent Mieczyslaw Marciniak]

[Excerpts] One hour ago we were waiting for the deliberations to resume: At 0900 they began [words indistinct]. The debate is continuing on reports on the government's policy on science and culture and the reports of Sejm commissions on three bills: The National Cultural Council and Cultural Development Fund: the office of minister of culture and art and on higher education.

Present in the chamber are Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski. The debate is chaired by Deputy Sejm Speaker Walina Skibniewska.

The debate began and first to speak was Deputy Jan Szczepanski, a non-party member. Deputy Szczepanski requested that the government give the Sejm more exact information on the current situation in Poland. We cannot debate, he said, without taking a stand on the events which took place yesterday in Warsaw and other towns. The Sejm and the government, he stated, should continue the policy of accord, despite what happened. This is the duty of deputies, all parties and political groups represented in the Sejm. Further on in his speech, the deputy took a stand on some issues linked with the bills under discussion, particularly the problems of higher education.

Next to speak was Deputy Witold Jankowski from the Pax Circle at the Sejm. The process of reforms can only take place in an atmosphere of calm. We must not give in to the pressure of events yesterday. He also took a stand on the bills presented yesterday and stated that the Pax deputies would vote for them. A moment ago, Deputy Roman Goral of the PZPR ended his speech and Deputy Genofewa Reuman of the ZSL began to speak. In both these speeches there were also elements of a return to yesterday's events: I will relate more on that topic later. That is all from the Sejm studio.

More on Sejm Deliberations

LD041004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 4 May 82

[Report by Sejm Correspondent Mieczyslaw Marciniak]

[Excerpts] The Sejm deliberations on science and cultural issues are continuing. A break in the debate is scheduled for 1100 but it has not yet been announced.

Culture can serve as a plane for the creative integration of the nation, Deputy Witold Jankowski, nonparty Pax, stressed in his speech. One of the paths toward national agreement can be, in the deputy's opinion, a cultural council joining together representatives of all creative and cultural milieus, accepted by those milieus. The deputy devoted much attention to the democratization of culture. Culture must not be dominated by the laws of supply and demand and its development must not be motivated by the concept of profitability, Deputy Witold Jankowski stated.

Deputy Roman Goral, PZPR, stated that the debate on science and culture is taking place at an exceptionally difficult time for the nation because grain for bread is a problem and the political divisions do not promote the cohesion of the state. However, culture, science and education have been a factor uniting Poles to common action for the good of their own state more than once in our history. There is a great need for creative people and scientists (?today too), to contribute to creating an atmosphere of down-to-earth dialogue, agreements and a unification of Poles around activities of supreme importage to the homeland. Today, above all, it is facts that count. The reform program is being implemented with iron consistency, despite martial law. The great majority of creative people in science and culture accepts or will accept an effective socialism, which brings about an efficiently organized, wisely and justly ruled state, Deputy Roman Goral said.

Next to speak was Deputy Genofewa Rejman from the United Peasant Party. She devoted her speech to an outline of the tabled higher education bill. She stated that the bill is an important step affecting the legal regulations in force on the univeristy campuses. It confirms the autonomy of the university, its self-management, the freedom of science and art, respect for the multiplicity of world outlooks. Through it, through observance of its regulations, it will undoubtedly be capable of solving many problems which are at present bothering the academic community.

WORKERS MILITIA PRAISED FOR MAY DAY BEHAVIOR

LD031428 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] [no dateline received] The Gdansk Voivodship Committee of Defense has discussed the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, the May Day demonstrations and the attempts made to disturb them by groups of youths. The activity of the forces of order was highly praised, including that of the Workers Militia which, despite the provocative attitudes of the participants in the illegal demonstration in Gdansk and Gdynia, behaved with caution and calm.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ATTEND 3 MAY FESTIVITIES

LD031512 Warsaw PAP in English 1422 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 May (PAP) -- Ceremonies marking the 191st anniversary of Poland's May 3rd Constitution were inaugurated in Warsaw this morning.

Representatives of Poland's supreme party and state authorities, including the PUWP CC first secretary, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, arrived to attend a rally held in the square outside Warsaw's royal castle -- a place closely linked to the adoption of this vital historical act.

The ceremony started at 11:15 with the hoisting of Poland's white-and-red flag and the playing of the national anthem. Simultaneously, a gala concert began at the royal castle marking the holiday of the Democratic Party observed on May 3 as proclaimed by the party's 12th congress. An address was delivered before the opening of the concert by chairman of the Democratic Party CC. Prof. Edward Kowalczyk.

Taking part in the Democratic Party holiday celebrations is president of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski.

Kowalczyk Addresses Rally

LD031722 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Celebrations of the annual Democratic Party [SD] day are taking place in Warsaw's royal castle. In the castle concert hall, SD activists from all over the country are taking their seats. Prof Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee, is among them. Sejm deputies are there; so are the invited guests. The time approaches 1145 as Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski enters the hall, together with members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, Kazimierz Barcikowski and Hieronym Kubiak; the chairman of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, Roman Malinowski; the speaker of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, Stanislaw Gucwa; and representatives of the capital's authorities.

Taking the floor, the chairman of the SD Central Committee said among other things:

[Begin recording] Colleagues, honored guests! We meet today on our party's day in order to, linking up with historic tradition, take an attitude on the matters of our time; in order for a moment, in a ceremonial mood, to focus our thoughts and feelings on a matter of immense importance to us: on the problems and phenomena which bother us, worry us, disturb the imagination or feelings, as members of the SD, as citizens of our state. I mean the further fate of our homeland and the many issues fundamental to that fate. But what concerns us most, members of the SD, at our meeting is probably the consolidation of our will to take an active part in the great and historic process of repairing the republic. On our day let us reflect briefly: How, as a party, are we serving the homeland, the state, the nation. (?Are we) doing everything that not only historic knowledge, personal experience, practical development and sober political calculation dictates to us, but also what our Polish hearts and consciences dictate?

Do we perhaps treat our civic and political obligations too superficially or in too carefree a manner? Are we consistent in implementing the renewal program of our party constitution -- the resolution of the 12th congress? This reflection should probably put us into a mood of moderate optimism, for, summing up everything that has happened to us and what we ourselves have done in the period from 3 May 1981 to 3 May 1982, one can say that the SD has remained on course: It did not fall for any political will-o-the-wisp. It has not detached itself from the sense of social interest and national interest. It seems it has not committed errors and inconsistencies in action. It did not go for cheap popularity.

On the other hand it has achieved increased and effective influence on the course of economic, state and political events. It has put into effect important programmatic items. Despite the activities of various forces, we are progressing step by step in the consolidation of unity of party ranks, in creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence.

Today we are certainly more experienced, and I believe somewhat different as activists, than a few years ago because important changes have taken place in the party. We are reasoning in a different way than before. We are reacting and acting differently. We are formulating our ideas differently. In many fields we register new, positive results. We are richer by the experience of the recent stormy period.

No doubt this is not the end of transformations. If the difficult lies behind us then undoubtedly the very difficult lies before us. We have assumed increased responsibility for the destiny of the country through increased participation in the government. Our deputies in the Sejm have become more active. We are embarking on numerous initiatives in many advisory and consultative bodies. We have established contacts with the church. We are introducing new formulations and a new style to our party language to the collection of political concepts. We sense with increasing clarity why we want to call ourselves democrats, what our objective is, how we intend to implement this objective, what we want for the future and what kind of behavior is being suggested to us by our political imagination.

The SD has constantly declared and still declares itself for the idea of national accord and agreement, in the spirit and intentions [words indistinct] the government act. This is eloquently evidenced not only by the texts of our program documents and plenary session resolutions, but also by the concrete initiatives [word indistinct].

Thousands of SD members are taking an active part today in the work of civic committees of national rebirth; in organizations which collect together people of good will in housing developments, parishes and factories. There is every reason to assume that they will attract many more people who are still indifferent or even reluctant to the work of national salvation and rebirth.

We attach great importance to the activity of those committees. We are making efforts on our part for the most valuable people to take part in them, because the personal authority of representatives of civic committees for national rebirth will to a considerable extent, decide on the scope of emanation of the idea of accord. [Words indistinct] activists have been allocated by fate to the role of the architects of a new, better republic and a new social and moral order.

Implementation of the idea of a 4-year term for the Sejm remained (?through the decades) not only a demand. The historic chance to (?give) it contemporarily realistic forms is created for us, however, by our socialist state. To take that chance to its fullest extent is the duty which a sense of patriotism lays upon us and also faithfulness to the progressive ideas of entire generations of our forefathers. One of the raods leading to [word indistinct] modernity of the socialist state can be seen in the realization of democracy, understood in a modern and systematic way, and not (?anarchically).

We are trying to follow this road consistently; we see our main task in this. The union of socialism and democracy [words indistinct] the profile of our party. It outlines for us a permanent place in the political system of the Polish People's Republic, in all fundamental sectors of state and social life, in the resolution of public affairs.

Permit me to recall the declaration passed at the 12th congress. I quote: Democracy is necessary to Poland and socialism; [words indistinct] political, economic and moral crisis; to release social energy and [word indistinct] patriotism; it promotes the realities which promote progress, the socialist development of society and the state. End of quote.

Colleagues, we celebrate our day today with dignity and with modesty. [Words indistinct] in all our milieus and echelons meetings devoted to our party's day are being held. Let us unite together in thought for a moment with our colleagues throughout Poland. This moment of concentration [words indistinct]. We are all necessary to the homeland, but necessary as a patriotic, well-organized, worthy (?force), understanding and seeing clearly the goals before us [word indistinct]; the politically dispersed, ideologically mistaken and organizationally weak will be of no use to anyone. Let each of us take the real truth into consideration: general accord means general prosperity. Accord and national agreement, that is democracy. [applause] [end recording]

RELIGIOUS GROUPS MAY NOT SPEAK ON OTHER ISSUES

LD301320 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 30 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Apr (PAP) -- RZECZPOSPOLITA today carries an article by Michal T. Staszewski, which is the first of an extensive series entitled "The Citizen and Religion." (?The article says in part:)

Guarantees of personal freedom of conscience and religion and also of the legal regulations on the position of religious organizations and the bases of their activity are sealed in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. The state-legal principels formulated in it and the normative system based on these principles determine the issues of principle on the existence of religious organizations within the framework of state laws. The position that religious orgnaizations have been accorded among other public organizations stems from the principle of separation of the state from the church. Religious institutions which carry out specific functions cannot be included in the system of people's power. Also, they are not regarded as mass organizations called upon to guide the people through the working class. Within the sphere of carrying out their tasks they enjoy competences formulated in the Constitution and can operate only within the limits of these competences. As public organizations, religious organizations represent the citizens who are their members only on religious questions and therefore they do not have the right to speak as organizations on nonreligious questions. Nothing prevents believers from demonstrating their nonreligious activity within the framework of existing parties and other public nonreligious organizations.

EPISCOPATE ISSUES PASTORAL LETTER FOR FESTIVAL

LD012354 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1815 GMT 1 May 82

[Excerpts] Tomorrow in our churches in Poland a pastoral letter from the Polish Episcopate will be read before the celebration of Our Lady of Poland, thematically linked with the pilgrimage of Polish women who, beginning this evening, are in Jasna Gora. Here is the full text of the letter:

Fill the cup of life and of the nation's transformation, beloved sisters and brothers in life. This Sunday, on the eve of the Festival of Our Lady of Poland, we wish to thank the most holy mother for the 600 years of her guardian-like, maternal presence at Jasna Gora.

At present, in face of the threat to the nation, its difficult today and uncertain tomorrow, it becomes ever more apparent that a permanent improvement comes only through the internal transformations of Poles. Today we, the Polish bishops, appeal to you dear ones. May the cup of life which the Polish women will bring to the feet of Our Lady of Jasna Gora become a veritable cup of transformation.

May the truth always mean the truth in Poland and may murder never be called a means to an end. These are things which one must not do. One must not kill, because human life belongs exclusively to the creator and under no circumstances may anyone decide on its duration. How tragically we experienced recently in Poland deaths inflicted by the hands of brothers.

DRAFT STATE BUDGET FOR 1982 COMPLETED LATE

LD031802 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] The Ministry of Finance has completed work on the draft state budget for 1982. It will be submitted to the Sejm rather late this year because of the fundamental changes which have been made in the system of management and planning in connection with the new economic and financial system of enterprises introduced along with the economic reform. The principal aim of the financial policy of the state continues to be the attempt to balance the budget revenue and outgoings. The existing limitations in the supply of raw materials, however, do not allow an increase in the accumulations which could meet all the fast-growing expenditure under the budget. The deficit envisaged in the budget amounts to about Z368 billion. It is, therefore, three times greater than the deficit of 1981, although the change in prices should be taken into account.

Despite the considerable increase in prices a number of enterprises and even some branches of industry are not profitable, which necessitates state subsidies. The largest subsidies have been earmarked for foodstuffs and for supplies to agriculture, and also for meeting in part the cost of passenger transport. The metal foundry industry, communications, forestry and timber industry are still working at a loss. They, too, will receive subsidies.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY COMMENTS ON FOREIGN DEBTS

AU031623 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 4

[Eugeniusz Guz commentary: "Philanthrophy of Good Business"]

[Text] Western mass media are particularly fond of the subject of Polish foreign currency commitments toward the capitalist world. Although there are many countries whose per capita indebtedness exceeds the Polish figures many times, Western journalists prefer to pick on Polish debts. In addition to this, they present the matter in such a way that makes it seem as if our country were practically taking advantage of the philanthrophy of Western banks and governments who, full of leniency for our situation, are giving us more time to repay the debts and interest.

No explanation is given for the public opinion that all contacts with Western creditors are based solely on pedantic calculations. Our creditors have certainly not contributed anything toward business up to now. For a start, nobody stands in line in front of a bank to obtain credits. Capital does not gain the banks any interest when it lies in safes. Bankers are pleased that they can handle accumulated capital.

In the past Poland had already repaid Western creditors a lot in the way of rates and interest, and will continue to do so. The temporary difficulties in payment will remain temporary, even when they drag on. For Poland controls its commitments by contract and is ready to continue to do so by reaching agreements with its creditors.

Bankers well know that they will get their money sooner or later and they demand that they be amply compensated for the waiting time. They demand even higher interest for delay in the repayment of credits. Up to now, the West has received for the period 1970-1981 over $13 billion from Poland in interest alone. They will be scooping from their source of interest for a long time yet before we repay all the credits we have received up to now. These $25-27 billion would certainly not earn such high interest lying in Western safes.

That is why the commentary entitled "Poland's Expensive Debts" in the F.J. Strauss' organ BAYERN-KURIER (No 16) falsely suggests, in accordance with the paper's tradition, that these debts are a burden to the West. Let us add that Western industrialists and traders also benefit from our indebtedness, because we bought goods from the West for the $27 billion, not from the East. Above all, some traders are guaranteed that we will continue to make purchases in the form of components, spare parts and so on for equipment bought with these credits.

Bankers are taking great care not to add a single cent to the entire business. They even burden our side with the costs of the conferences which take place in Western capitals on the subject of refinancing our debts (the costs of plane tickets, hotels and so on), deducting for themselves a once-only commission. We account for every grosz, and although we are repaying more slowly than was stipulated, we still do so and pay through the nose for everything. There is no question of philanthropy. It is only for propaganda purposes that the picture of generous, maganimous bankers is being spread, bankers who suit our purposes, although in reality they suit their own purposes above all else.

CZYREK ON SUMMIT, DISARMAMENT, DIPLOMACY

LD011010 Warsaw PAP in English 0827 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 1 May (PAP) -- At the outset of his interview granted to the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek spoke about the plans for a Soviet-American summit meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Ronald Reagan.

"Already the very announcement of the meeting should be a factor serving the stimulation of the disarmament dialogue and facilitating the relaxation of tensions. This is being awaited by all world nations," said the chief of Polish diplomacy. "Let me add that Poland, for whom detente is an important premise for overcoming the crisis, is vitally interested in the improvement of Soviet-American relations, checking of the dangerous arms race and progress in disarmament negotiations. By political and diplomatic actions we shall support as much as we can the strivings towards ensuring that the meeting brings maximum effect."

Evaluating the to date progress of preparations for the second U.S. special session on disarmament, Minister Czyrek stated: "The session commes in a difficult international situation, a period of intensified arms race, especially concerning the most dangerous - nuclear weapons, in the face of growing threats to world peace, the suspension or deadlock of disarmament negotiations."

"The evaluation of implementation of the resolutions of the first disarmament session in 1978 is bound to and will be critical because the world opinion, a majority of the U.N. member-states feel deeply alarmed by the present state of affairs. Poland and other socialist states fully share this concern and critical evaluation."

"However, the special session should not limit itself merely to stating and criticizing the unsatisfactory state of affairs. But it should bring home to the nations of the world and their governments the whole danger inherent in the present confrontation trends but, above all, it should bring about a reversal of these tendencies, checking of the senseless arms race, especially the nuclear arms, and a return to a businesslike disarmament dialogue or its revival where it had been halted."

Answering a question about Poland's recent increased activity in the international arena, Minister Czyrek said:

"Our inalterable objective has been to safeguard the interests of socialist Poland through consistent action towards peace, consolidation of the detente process, disarmament and development of all-round cooperation with all states. Poland's present international position will depend on how effectively and quickly we manage to solve internal problems, strengthen state structures and stimulate the economy."

"The priority task is strengthening and development of all-round relations with the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union.

"As far as Western Europe is concerned, it is worth recalling that Poland was a precursor of detente and a state helping to dynamise political dialogue and East-West cooperation. In the present international situation, we consider it necessary to base on what links the nations of Europe, namely the will of peace and security, as well as interest in unrestrained cooperation. It is on this platform that we wish to develop relations with our Western partners.

"In conditions of tensions we are not relaxing but increasing our activeness in foreign policy. At the CSCE meeting in Madrid, rebuffing attempts at interference in our internal affairs, we did all we could to save the CSCE process from disruption. We are using the time before the reopening of the meeting for intensive bilateral consultations in order to (?ensure) its positive conclusion.

"Recent attempts by certain Western governments to interfere in our internal affairs and institution of various forms of pressure, objectively bring harm to all European states by leading directly to the sharpening of political situation of our continent," said Minister Czyrek.

"We are open and ready to develop relations with all states on the basis of generally accepted norms of cooperation between nations. But all attempts at bringing pressure on Poland are doomed to failure. We shall neither let ourselves be pushed into isolation. After all, is it possible to isolate a country like Poland? This is unrealistic.

"We note with attention the increasingly numerous voices in the West which acknowledge that the political curse adopted towards Poland stands no chance of success and brings harm not only to Poland but also to the cause of detente and all-European cooperation. On the global scale, as member of the U.N. Security Council for the next two years, we have an important role to play in helping to solve world problems. In this domain we will be invariably guided by the principles of our foreign policy and the interests of the international community, as well as the supreme interest of preserving world peace and saving mankind from the nuclear war catastrophe," said Minister Czyrek.

AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

LD291938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Today in Warsaw Andrzej Kacala and Boris Runov, vice ministers of agriculture of Poland and the Soviet Union respectively, signed an agreement on technological and scientific cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union in the sphere of agriculture.

The two sides decided that an exchange of experts would be mutually beneficial and conducive for the deepening of cooperation between scientific units and farms.

The scientific units will make available to each other scientific and technological information as well as films, samples of seeds and cuttings and the results of their experi nts. The cultivation of new kinds of crops will occupy an important place in this cooperation. The scientists intend to work out improved methods of selection of [words indistinct] this year. The cooperation will also cover the production of highly productive kinds and hybrids of winter rye and sunflower. Scientific institutes in Krasnodarskiy Kray and Radzikowo will be working on those problems.

REPORTAGE ON PZPR PLENUM TEAMS, SPEAKERS

Team on Socialist Cooperation

AU301342 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Economic Cooperation With Socialist Countries"]

[Excerpts] The Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum Problem Team No Seven, chaired by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, and attended by State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski, on 22-23 April discussed issues of economic cooperation with socialist countries.

Tadeusz Nestorowicz, minister of foreign trade, presented the principles and course of the changes in our economy in order to get rid of our dependence on the capitalist countries and to promote the integration and cooperation with the socialist community. He stressed that those changes are not only short term, but are development with an eye on the long term nature of economic relations. The most important measures are aimed at:

-- A more extensive commitment of the socialist countries to exploiting our industry's free production capacities;

-- Ensuring that our partners supply us with component parts for the products we export to the socialist countries or, alternatively, that they will provide us with the currencies for importing these parts from the second payment area;

-- Developing new kinds of coproduction links through setting up mixed enterprises and through help in completing unfinished investments.

The participants in the discussion stressed the need to provide fuller information for society about the advantages of trade with the socialist countries. Economic education in this regard should help people to understand that, regardless of the assistance given us by the socialist countries, the emergence from the crisis depends primarily on our own efforts. They also raised the issue of the need to organizationally adapt our reformed economy to a partnerlike development of cooperation with the socialist countries. The new things introduced by the reform should assist and not hinder the development of mutual integration and trade.

Team on Law and Order

AU301345 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Observing the Laws, Raising Social and Production Discipline, Combating Speculation and Waste"]

[Excerpts] The Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum Problem Team No Nine, chaired by Miroslaw Mileswki, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, discussed on 22-23 April the "Observance of the Laws Raising Social and Production Discipline and Combating Speculation and Waste."

The participants in the discussion stressed that the laws, which are a crucial factor in discipline and order, must correspond to the true setup of the state's socioeconomic relations. We have already drawn up a program for economic legislation for the next few years, and its implementation should encourage the development of attitudes marked by good management, dedication and responsibility in every job. We should bear in mind, however, that in the recent past we often passed the laws that provided inadequate protection for honest people. The humanitarian nature of our system has often been taken and is being taken advantage of by various parasitic elements.

Our economic practice is beset by many regulations which at times are in conflict with one another or are simply bad. For example, that is so in the case of some rationing regulations that are different in various parts of the country, which facilitates the manipulations of speculators, who take wares from one voivodship to another and make great profits. Severe repression must be applied in the case of such people -- to match the social harm of their misdeeds, which should be viewed in the light of the present difficult socioeconomic situation of the country. We must declare a resolute and consistent struggle against all idlers, drones and parasites living at the cost of our society. We must not tolerate the practice by which people register themselves as unemployed in order to collect unemployment allowances, but refuse to work when jobs are offered them.

It is an important problem to protect property against waste and to foster the right attitude to work. We must see that effective work is well paid and is taken for granted.

Kolakowski Address

AU291233 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Apr 82 p 3

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Kolakowski, Central Committee member and manager of the state farm combine in Pezino, Szczecin Voivodship, at the 23 April session of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] I represent the Pezino state farm combine, which covers 6,500 hectares of farmland and I have been in charge of it for the past 10 years. The combine cultivates medium-quality soil, produces large yields and is profitable. Last year it made a profit of over Z60 million, and we expect it to be profitable this year as well.

My own observations and those of my colleagues have convinced me that the state farms have responded to the new economic-fiscal system by changing the structure of crop production and the number of farm animals. The state farm workforces are now more interested in their economic results and continue to adapt the production of their farms to genuine natural and economic conditions and to change it under the impact of the present prices.

In my combine these changes mean that the cultivation of sugar beets has increased by 150 hectares and of rape by 200 hectares. As for the breeding of cattle, hogs and sheep, we continue to maintain the level of the past years and to sell the traditional amount of 350 kg of livestock per hectare. We have increased milk production by 10 percent. We use our own fodder except for fodder concentrates. We have been able to increase our fodder production by improving the cultivation of meadows and pastures and by using larger areas of land for post-harvest cultivation.

State farms are now self-financing and independent. The question is: Will all the farms be able to profit by the economic reform under the very difficult present conditions?

The reform regards profits of profit-making farms and improvements in financial results of loss-making farms as the basic criteria of state farms' performance. Subsidies have been abolished, and this is why we must produce a great deal, paying special attention to production costs, which is all the more important since the costs of basic means of production such as fuels, energy, fertilizers, building materials and services have greatly increased.

The economic reform has a very difficult passage at state farms. There are many problems which have to be solved to facilitate the progress of the reform.

One, it is necessary to finally solve the issue of the unjustified financial burdens imposed on state farms. Last year the state farms' payments to the social security agency amounted to Z9 billion, which is 20 percent of the wage fund, and the agency's payments to state farms amounted to just below Z5 billion. In line with the economic reform, state farms are to pay 25 percent of their fund to the social security agency, which is a considerable burden. At individual farms this issue looks quite different. These farms paid to the agency over Z3 billion in the same time, but the agency paid about Z19 billion to the individual farmers. That is why I propose that the payments to the agency be revised and that the state farms' payments to it be reduced.

Individual farmers have to pay the land tax only, but state farms have to pay a tax on 70 percent of the wage fund in addition to the land tax. I propose that state farms be exempted from the tax on their wage funds.

The state subsidizes the services provided for individual farmers by agricultural circles with regard to the chemical treatment of soil and to mechanized equipment. This subsidy is to amount to over Z9 billion countrywide this year, which equals about one quarter of the value of the services provided for farmers. I propose that this principle be extended to state farms and producer cooperatives and that the prices of electric power and solid fuels be the same for individual farmers and state farms. The present situation is that individual farmers pay Z1.8 for a kilowatthour of electric power and state farms pay Z3.5. Individual farmers -- greenhouse gardeners, for example -- pay Z3,000 for a ton of coke and state farms pay Z5,000 for a ton of the same coke. This is the case with coal prices as well.

Two, I propose consensus prices on farm products and semi-finished farm products traded by state farms among themselves. This is an important principle of farms' independence.

Three, I propose that sectors be put on the same footing with regard to selling products and buying means of production.

Increasing housing construction at state farms is one of the key problems. A shortage of apartments causes a shortage of manpower, which cuts down farm production, especially animal production.

I wish to discuss another problem of the process to ensure genuine independence for state farms, a problem around which certain dangers have appeared. The setting up of voivodship associations and of the national association should strengthen the state farm's independence. We already have such an association in our voivodship and we are waiting for the establishment of the national organization that would represent state farms' interests before the central institutions.

The further development of the state agricultural sector and the implementation of the economic reform depend on the consistent implementation of the ninth congress resolution.

Private Farmer's Address

AU031532 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 82 p 4

[Speech by Jan Milulski, Central Committee member and private farmer in Rodzanow Village, Stara Blotnica Commune in Radom Voivodship, at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] The present plenum is dedicated to the question of how to get out of the crisis. This is how I have interpreted the two reports. At the same time, the discussions have already signaled the beginning of interdepartmental bargaining: Who should take from that empty basket and how much? At the moment, we should forget about that. What we, the nation as a whole, must think about is who can offer what and how much to overcome the crisis.

Comrade Vice Premier Obodowski said yesterday that we used to bring in from abroad even water and clay, and I would go even further, saying that we should reckon all the usurious interest we also have to pay for the wind blowing mainly from the West and carrying various Free Europe and other broadcasts. We pay also for that. Where Marshall failed in the past, Brzezinski accomplished today -- he cast a bait, and our previous authorities swallowed it. And even if the line broke, the hook is still bothering us. But we have avoided the American frying pan. We eat from our pot and are able to get out of the trouble, because in addition to the debts for clay and water, we have spent many billions to feed the people, although as a farmer I am ashamed of that.

As an agricultural country, called Poland for its fields [pola], we proved to be unable to feed ourselves. Instead, they had to feed us. And now they seem to spite us by refusing to give us grain. Many people from the city are buying plots in the countryside. That land is becoming unproductive. It is not true that we are only losing land in construction. We are also losing it in such land deals. We must take a more careful look at that. There is a pressing need to carry out the action of land integration. For example, my village possesses 180 hectares of farmland, and some 8 hectares -- or perhaps even more -- out of the total are under the balks. An area of 8 hectares with per-hectare yields of 20 quintals in classes 4 and 3 could produce for the state 160 quintals of grain. I do not know if the whole village sold that much grain to the state any year.

Regulations worked out for contracting must bind both the farmer and the state. The state must buy what the farmer delivers, and the farmer must deliver what he has undertaken under the contract. The profitability of farm production is assessed in various ways. At the 1981 congress of agricultural circles a farmer proved that, while breeding hogs, he was losing Z3,600 per 100 kilo live weight. When we left the hall, I asked him how many hogs he bred. He said about 100 annually for 7 years. I said: I wonder why you started that smelly breeding with so many million zlotys in your pocket. He objected: How do you know I have so many millions? But I retorted: How else could you pay for the losses?

We must consider how to work and how to make proper use of agricultural services. I was chairman of a communal council for 12 years. I know that agronomists telephone each other: "Listen, what per-hectare yields do you have?" And they manage somehow to make the yields apparently equal. People in offices are always able to fudge, nobody wants to be worse than the next one, why should he lose the bonus. In addition, he who does not believe and has no faith also does not take account of sin and thus is free to cheat.

PARTY DAILY REVIEWS EIGHTH PLENUM DECISIONS

AU301726 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 82 p 1

[Andrzej Leszczynski commentary: "The Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum -- The Material Foundations of Life" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] OUR PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, THE SECOND UNDER MARTIAL LAW, WAS DEDICATED TO DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN PAINFULLY AFFECTING OUR LIVES AND HAVE FOR MONTHS BEEN GENERATING THE SPIRIT OF DESPONDENCY AND FEARS FOR THE FUTURE.

Today, when many Polish families -- particularly those with many children, those supported by the mothers alone, or those living on pensions or disability payments -- have been confronted with the need for serious sacrifices, and even with prospects for restricting vital needs, the state of the economy is of paramount importance. IT WILL BE DECISIVE FOR MAINTAINING AT LEAST A SUFFICIENT LEVEL OF SUPPLIES OF FOOD, CLOTHING, DRUGS AND DETERGENTS.

But the shortage of dwellings is still acute! We are also short of hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens and social welfare homes. At this point the engineers, the technician and the worker will certainly want to indicate the need to retool worn-out machines, and the threat of depleting the nation's wealth earned at the cost of so many sacrifices.

THIS IS WHY THE PARTY, FEELING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MATERIAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL EXISTENCE, HAS BEEN SO CONSISTENT IN TAKING UP BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Having acquainted himself with the documents published in this daily about the eighth plenum, the reader will certainly admit that nothing was either concealed or hushed up at that party forum. A realistic and not embellished PICTURE OF THE COUNTRY WRESTLING WITH THE CRISIS with all its negative social effects emerged from the speeches and discussions in problem teams and at plenary sessions.

"The party is aware of that bitter fact," the Politburo report reads. "But it is the fundamental obligation of the party to tell the workers class and the whole society the plain truth about the situation."

The Central Committee plenum not only recorded the critical state of our economy; above all, it manifested the party quest for the ways to overcome the crisis and to consolidate in practice the principles of the economic reform. If our readers regard the reports and the discussion from that point of view, they will find in them many ideas, conclusions and constructive proposals, as well as reservations, misgivings and critical assessments.

MOST OF THOSE AFTERTHOUGHTS AT THE PLENUM CONCERNED THE ECONOMIC REFORM AS AN IMPORTANT DEVICE TO TAKE THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE CRISIS. The first experiences have made it possible to see reform through the prism not of theory, but of practice grounded in the reality which has changed radically in the last 18 months.

Late in 1980, when the party concept of economic reform was maturing, it was difficult to foresee that the destructive activity of the political opposition would aggravate the crisis to such an extent that it would bring about an economic backslide as deep as that of 1981. It was also difficult to foresee that the imposition of martial law would be necessary to defend the socialist state. As is known, the economic situation has also been significantly complicated by the restrictions placed on Poland by some capitalist countries.

UNDER THESE SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PARTY TODAY IS SEEKING SOLUTIONS FITTING THE NEW SITUATION. THE EIGHTH PLENUM PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THAT PROCESS.

Above all, the plenum confirmed that, notwithstanding various obstacles, restrictions and hesitations or the urges to retreat which, let us be frank, have been emerging in view of the obstacles, the CAUSE OF ECONOMIC REFORM MUST BE CONTINUED, because the key to a profitable economy and to a genuine increase in communal labor productivity lies in the consistent implementation of the principle of self-financing state enterprises.

At the same time, the independence of enterprises is a condition for FREEING THE INITIATIVES AND ENTERPRISE OF COLLECTIVES; it fosters creative inventiveness which is necessary in any situation, but particularly in the present one, when we must find new raw material sources, must, under the new conditions, restore the bounds of cooperation within the country and all over the world, and must tighten links with the fraternal socialist countries.

The plenum confirmed the IMPORTANCE OF EMPLOYEES' SELF-MANAGEMENT both for the success of the reform and, in a broader sense, as a factor in consolidating socialist relations. To the fears that the institution of self-management could, under the present circumstances, be used by the political opposition as a screen the plenum the view is counterposed that political conditions were necessary to enable self-governing bodies to act successfully on the principles arising from the spirit of the Sejm act. An important role in providing such conditions should belong to public commissions at enterprises and to party aktivs.

THE PLENUM CAREFULLY EXAMINED THE SCOPE OF RESTRICTIONS DICTATED BY THE CRISIS IN LIVING STANDARDS. It was guided by the concern that the hard economic needs and solutions resulting from cold computed data not affect the vital cells of social existence, do not affect the development of the younger generation, the lives of older people, and do not put many families below the socially accepted level of consumption.

For this reason the plenum found it expedient to create protected zones in social politics, to provide social defense for people and families who are the weakest economically. That concern was accomplished by a strong interest in problems concerning agricultural production, the consolidation of private farms and -- in broader terms -- the food economy. The speakers correctly regarded that as a condition for eliminating the difficulties in food supplies, which are probably the most irksome for society.

AS COMRADE W. JARUZELSKI SAID IN HIS CONCLUDING SPEECH, THE PLENUM OUTLINED A VISION OF THE FUTURE. SPEAKING ABOUT IT, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FIRST SECRETARY SET THREE TARGETS. TARGET ONE, TO BE ATTAINED BEFORE THE END OF THE CURRENT YEAR, is to check the economic backslide and even make progress in some sectors, and to protect the lives of families who are economically the weakest. TARGET TWO, TO BE ATTAINED BEFORE 1985, is to reduce major disproportions, to achieve stability, to fully carry out reform, and to reorient the economy toward cooperation with the scoialist countries. TARGET THREE, TO BE ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE 1990, is to advance the process of repaying debts to capitalist countries, to significantly improve living conditions, in particular housing, health services, transportation, and to balance and fully stabilize the economy.

THE LONG TERM TARGETS, FORMULATED IN THIS WAY, ARE EVIDENCE THAT, WHILE SETTLING THE CURRENT, IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THE PARTY POSSESSES A LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT. THE SUCCESS OF THAT CONCEPT DEPENDS ON CONSISTENCY OF ACTION, ON THE ACTIVITY OF ALL PARTY LINKS, ON THE COMMITMENT OF SCIENTISTS, AND ON THE EFFORTS OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY.

The eighth plenum achievements have been fixed in the adopted resolution. It has specified instructions to the party and all its echelons. It has set both immediate and long term tasks which should be regarded as instruments not of direct management in the economy, but of party supervision and control over the regular implementation of the set program.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED 30 APR

LD301614 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Apr (PAP) -- "We are for cooperation of all the social forces," said Alfred Beszterda, Central Committee secretary of the Democratic Party, in an interview for the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA today.

"In its striving for democratic solution of all the matters, the Democratic Party -- by its nature -- has always been and is an advocate of cooperation of the majority of the society in the solving of vital and key issues of the state and nation.

"Hence the idea of national agreement is still present in our programme because we think that without realizing this idea it is impossible in the long run, to hold power in a fully acceptable way for the society," he continued. "The aim of our proposal is to make the real forms of dialogue possible in the future, to conduct talks which will make it possible to achieve real agreement and cooperation between all the social forces that accept the legal socialist order. We think that everyone -- regardless of his world outlook, his role in the social division of labour -- should find room at 'the common table,' should have an appropriate share in deciding about and bearing responsibility for the fate of the country."

"We think that now, at the time of martial law, when we are shaping our matters anew, in a more mature way, when we are drawing conclusions from the experiences of the past year, and not only from that period, there is even a greater need for agreement on the forms of positive cooperation in the interest of the nation and state to come out from the deep political, social and economic crisis.

"In 1956 Hungary began to implement the slogan: Everyone, who is not against us, is with us. Today we too recall that formula and, having a realistic look, we should say that: Everyone who is not against us, perhaps is not yet with us but may be with us. The motivation system -- both in the sphere of consciousness and the work performed -- must be reconstructed through the process of agreement. The thing is to make us 'wish to want.'

"I think that these matters have already begun to materialize slowly in the micro scale -- in the activity of the civic committees of national redemption, which have already attracted more than 100,000 citizens," said the Polish Democratic Party CC secretary.

Alfred Beszterda stressed that "the Democratic Party (SD) links its fundamental motto: democracy -- patriotism -- progress to the traditions and activity of the social left. In our documents we have acknowledged the leading role of the working class and its party. We are an element of the three party political coalition foundation in our country, and we are operating within these frameworks.

"We strongly emphasize, both in our documents and in the party work practice, the principle that political parties should exercise their political influence on the society through indirect methods, that they should not determine the duties of the state or any social structures in the way of directive but operate within these structures through their member. That is being realized today by both the representation organs of authority and the committees of national rebirth. This is a model of work for the political party and the future front of national accord which may be acceptable to the entire society and guarantee everyone of us a joint solution of common issues."

TRYBUNA LUDU DISCUSSES NORMALIZATION PROBLEMS

AU031254 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Toward Normalization"]

[Text] THERE HAS BEEN MARTIAL LAW IN OUR COUNTRY FOR NEARLY 20 WEEKS. DICTATED BY THE NEED TO DEFEND THE MOST VITAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE, IT PURSUED FROM THE BEGINNING AND CONTINUES TO PURSUE THE CLEAR GOAL, THOUGH ONE THAT IS CERTAINLY DIFFICULT TO REALIZE: TO BRING ABOUT THE FULL NORMALIZATION OF SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE IN POLAND AND TO AVERT ALL THOSE THINGS THAT THREATENED CONFRONTATION AND NATIONAL TRAGEDY.

NOBODY HAS EVER ASSERTED THAT THE COUNTRY COULD OR SHOULD BECOME USED TO MARTIAL LAW. THE MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, OUR PARTY'S LEADERSHIP AND THE ALLIED PARTIES REGARDED AND REGARD THE 13 DECEMBER 1981 DECISIONS AS EMERGENCY AND TEMPORARY ONES. CONCRETE FACTS CAN BE QUOTED TO SHOW THIS.

Memory is short-lived, but it is certainly worthwhile to bear in mind what rigors and difficulties obsessed us at the beginning of martial law, and which of them -- particularly in the light of the decisions most recently adopted by the Military Council for National Salvation -- no longer exist. LET US BEAR IN MIND THAT THE RESTRICTIONS BINDING THE CITIZENS IN THEIR FREEDOM TO TRAVEL AND MOVE WITHIN THE COUNTRY ARE NO LONGER IN FORCE, THAT THE INCONVENIENCES ARISING FROM THE SUSPENSION OF AUTOMATIC TELEPHONE AND TELETYPE COMMUNICATION WILL BE ELIMINATED, THAT THERE WILL BE NO NIGHT CURFEW.

It is worthwhile to note that, in line with those decisions, about a thousand internees have been released or have received leaves. As a result of those decisions, the number of persons interned on the strength of the martial law decree has sunk to about 2,000.

Those are the facts. They arise from the official assessment of the progressing process of normalizing life, which is progressing, and from the awareness, rather commonplace in society, of what could have been the result of the adventurous and anti-people policy pursued by solidarity's leading teams. NOTWITHSTANDING WESTERN POLISH-LANGUAGE RADIO BROADCASTS AND NOTWITHSTANDING THE PROPAGANDA ATTEMPTS BY THE AUTHORS OF VARIOUS LEAFLETS, THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION HAS PROVED TO BE A FACT.

We are taking great pains to visibly consolidate our common homeland, socialist Poland. The work has begun from the weakened foundations -- from the party which is recovering its prestige and its strength of political and ideological influence. The party is on the way to recovering its position as the vanguard of the workers class.

HOWEVER, THE EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION THAT HAS BEEN PREVAILING IN RECENT MONTHS SHOWS THAT IT IS NOT ONLY PEOPLE WHO CARRY PARTY CARDS THAT ARE RECOVERING PROPER CONDITIONS. Also many millions of nonparty people have manifested their patriotic attitudes and loyalty to the cause of socialism in that difficult and dramatic period. Along with PZPR members, they are the founders of and active participants in the patriotic movement of socialist renewal -- of citizens' committees for national rebirth. IT IS WORTHWHILE TO REMEMBER TODAY THAT, IN JANUARY 1982, PEOPLE WHO REGARDED THE IDEA OF NATIONAL ACCORD AS THE BEST WAY OF ACHIEVING NORMALIZATION WERE THE PRECURSORS OF THAT MOVEMENT.

MAY DAY -- THE DAY OF SOLIDARITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS CLASS, THE DAY OF OUR PARTY'S STRENGTH AND UNITY -- IS APPROACHING. IT WOULD BE HYPOCRISY TO CLAIM THAT IT IS A DAY TO MARK THE SUCCESSES WE HAVE SCORED IN RECENT YEARS. BUT IT WOULD ALSO BE WRONG TO DEPRECIATE THE WORKERS HOLIDAY, TO CALL FOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE WORKERS' INTERESTS, AND TO ACCEPT CONCEPTS CONTRADICTING THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST LIVING TOGETHER AS A PRICE FOR A VAGUE SOCIAL ACCORD.

On the basis of the realities prevailing in recent months, the rigors of martial law have been significantly eased. There are reasons for saying that the sociopolitical situation in the country has improved. But at the same time we see the truth clearly, realistically.

POLAND IS STILL IN THE CENTER OF INTEREST OF ANTISOCIALIST PROPAGANDA. IT IS IRRELEVANT IF IT ASSUMES THE SHAPE OF OPEN SUBVERSION PRACTICED BY HOSTILE CENTERS, OR IF IT IS CAMOUFLAGED WITH PHRASES. IN BOTH CASES WE HAVE TO DO WITH ACTS ESSENTIALLY AIMED AT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE VALID ORDER IN THE SOCIALIST STATE, AT OBSTRUCTING THE NORMALIZATION OF LIFE.

And for this reason it is worthwhile to bear in mind the recent decisions adopted by the Military Council for National Salvation which stated in particular: "At the same time the Council advised the appropriate state organs to act resolutely with regard to persons who abuse the confidence of the authorities and disregard the requirements of martial law..."

THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN POLAND IS SLOW AND DIFFICULT, YET NO ONE MUST THINK THAT HE OR SHE COULD REVERSE THE COURSE OF HISTORY BY HIS OR HER ANTISOCIALIST ACTIVITY. SOCIAL PROGRESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM FEEDING ON ITS MISTAKES; THAT PROGRESS DEPENDS ON THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY. AND THAT IS WHAT MAKES SOCIALISM STRONG.

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW WITH GREEK NEWSPAPER

NC031708 Athens TA NEA in Greek 3 May 82 p 5

["Text" of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's interview given to TA NEA Special Correspondent Angelos Stangos on 30 April at the RCP Central Committee offices in Bucharest]

[Text] Romania's entire foreign policy aims at restoring detente and maintaing peace in the international sphere while, on the other hand, the tension now prevailing in the world causes grave concern to the Romanian leaders.

This is the basic conclusion drawn from the exclusive interview which Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has granted TA NEA as well as from the contacts which our special correspondent has had in Bucharest.

This persistence, which is mixed with concern over the issue of detente and peace, is explained by the peculiarity of Romania which has selected an independent road in the exercise of its foreign policy -- despite the fact that it remains within the Warsaw Pact -- while, inside the country, there is an attempt to implement a socialism based on self-sustained development and in conjunction with the invigorating of national spirit.

Question: Mr President, you are the first head of state who has suggested the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. This issue is again being discussed quite widely, and new proposals are being made concerning the denuclearization of the Mediterranean as well as the establishment of other nuclear-free zones in Europe.

Having in mind that this year the Inter-Balkan Conference will be held in Bucharest and its agenda includes mainly technical questions, do you think, Mr President, the conference could be extended to also cover political issues such as the conversion of the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding without nuclear weapons? Do you have any concrete views and proposals on this issue?

Answer: Actually, Romania long ago sided with improving relations among the Balkan states as well as of converting the Balkans into a zone of peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons. In recent years, particularly, this issue has been constantly discussed more extensively and by broad circles throughout the Balkan countries. At the same time, many proposals are also being made to extend this zone to the Mediterranean and to establish nuclear-free zones in other European areas.

Having in mind the increased massing of nuclear weapons in Europe, the prospects for the installation of medium-range missiles and the deployment of those already existing, one can say that the necessary prerequisites appear for more resolute -- and at the same time with bigger chances of success -- activities for the establishments of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and in other European areas. The prerequisites exist for activities that would stop the installation of medium-range missiles in Europe, would impose the withdrawal of the existing missiles and would ensure a Europe free of nuclear missiles.

Concerning the conference that will be held in Bucharest this year, its aim is to tackle the important question of cooperation in the field of raw material and energy which is caused by the constantly increasing need for the Balkan countries to meet their demands in energy and raw materials in a manner that would secure their socioeconomic development and the raising of every people's prosperity.

Examining the goals of this conference, I do not believe its agenda can include other issues as well. Undoubtedly, within the framework of discussing cooperation in the field of raw materials and energy, actions which might prevent the installation of nuclear missiles or other weapons in the Balkans and Europe in general will also be discussed.

In any event, the question of nuclear armaments and the conversion of the Balkans into a zone of peace should be dealt with at a special conference which must be carefully prepared. I believe that under the present circumstances there are possibilities for the realizing of such a conference.

Question: Mr President, how does Romania view the new positions of Greek foreign policy -- positions such as Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's statement concerning the need for a United Europe, without military blocs, that could help detente in the Balkans, the European area and in the world?

Answer: First, I would like to point out that Greece and Romania have repeatedly discussed the question of disarmament, the problems of the Balkans and Europe, and the achievement of lasting peace in the world. The positions of our countries on many issues are identical or they are very close.

Starting from this fact, we welcome and particularly appreciate the statements by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou concerning the need for the abolition of military blocs. I would like to stress that Romania has stook and continued to stand firmly in favor of the simultaneous abolition of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This would completely satisfy the interests of the European countries and the Balkan countries in particular.

We believe that our countries -- Romania and Greece -- together with other European countries, should act more resolutely toward improving relations and developing mutual confidence. It is particularly essential that relations should be improving among countries that belong to different blocs so that the prerequisites may be created that would lead to the abolition of blocs and the development in Europe of relations characterized by full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs of others and refraining from resort to force -- or even the threat of force -- in resolving any differences among states.

In this spirit, we believe it is possible and necessary for the European peoples to develop better cooperation -- and even unity -- based on the respect for different social systems in the European countries -- an active economic, technical-scientific, cultural cooperation with the aim of implementing the Helsinki principles so that a Europe of peaceful cooperation may be created which will be able to play a significant role in international life and the policy of detente throughout the world.

Question: Mr President, at your recent meeting with the leader of the Turkish state, General Evren, you proposed the holding of a summit conference in the Balkans. Can you say in more detail how you view this conference and what issues could be discussed at such a conference?

Answer: During my meeting and talks with the leader of Turkey, General Evren, we discussed the problem of relations among the Balkan countries as well as the development of cooperation and confidence and, within this framework, the need to organize a summit conference. I would also like to say that other leaders of Balkan countires have also discussed the need for such a conference, and I believe there are the prerequisites for considering the preparation and organization of such a meeting.

Within the framework of such a conference, a more general discussion could be conducted concerning the present stage of relations among the Balkan countries -- a discussion on the need to solve the problems among certain countries through negotiations and with the aim of developing confidence and good neighborhood; a wider economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation as well as the measures that should be taken into consideration for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

In my opinion, under the present international state of affairs, it is particularly essential for the Balkan countries and their leaders to meet and agree on the ways of acting in the interest of their people and the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe and the world.

Question: The relations between Greece and Romania are very friendly. Do you believe they could be improved? Do you think the different political systems and different military alliances of the two countries constitute an obstacle for better relations and a broader cooperation?

Answer: Really, the ties between Romania and Greece are strong. Besides, there is an old tradition and we can say our relations are very friendly today. We have made considerable progress in our economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation. I believe there is room for a strong development of this cooperation, and I am convinced that, during my visit to Greece and my talks with President K. Karamanlis and Prime Minister A. Papandreou, we will success in determining new possibilities for expanding the cooperation between the two countries and even in international issues.

Although our countries have different social systems and political alliances, they have found a road for cooperation based on the principles of equality, mutual respect for independence and noninterference in the internal affairs of others. I believe that what we have achieved thus far clearly proves that there are possibilities for our countries -- and more generally for countries with different political systems, which belong to different military blocs -- to develop relations of confidence and cooperation starting from the principles of equality and the desire to overcome obstacles to serve the interests of friendship, peace and cooperation among people.

Question: Mr President, what are your views on the Cyprus problem and how do you think it could be solved? The Greek Government is promoting the internationalization of the problem, and it might accept the realization of an international conference on the Cyprus issue. What is Romania's position on this issue?

Answer: Romania has always stood for a solution of the Cyprus problem with negotiations between the two communities in order to secure Cyprus' independence and preserve its nonaligned position.

I do not want to express an opinion on the Greek Government's intentions to internationalize the problem because of the visit that I will pay to Greece soon, where there definitely will be an exchange of views on these issues.

I once again wish to stress that Romania believes and supports a settlement of the Cyrpus issue and other problems directly by the interested parties. This is the quickest and safest way of securing the peoples' independence.

Question: Mr President, you have your own views regarding the situation in Poland. In to your opinion, what are the political and social reasons for the crisis? Do you consider that the present situation in Poland influences international life to a great extent?

Answer: Romania believes that Poland's problem is an internal affair and it must be solved by the Polish people and the country's political forces without foreign interference. I do not wish to refer now to the political and economic reasons that caused this situation, since I believe that this should be done by the political forces, the government and the Polish people who know better what happened and why.

I think that the economic sanctions that were imposed on Poland are unjustified and that they only succeed in creating more obstacles to normalizing the situation in this country. In reality, [sanctions] are incompatible with the relations of equality and the respect of the independence and the noninterference in the domestic affairs of any country. It is certain that such measures contribute, to an extent, to the deterioration of relations in Europe and in international life in general.

We consider it imperative for all countries to refrain from any interference in Poland's domestic affairs. The Polish people must be left alone to solve their problems and to secure the socialist development of their country, because these are the prerequisites for Poland to be able to play its important role in the international arena, in Europe and in the world. This satisfied the interests of the Polish people, but also the interests of European cooperation and security and world peace.

Question: Mr President, since we are talking about international problems, what is your opinion on the latest Middle East developments and what are the prerequisites for solving the Middle East problem?

Answer: Romania considers that the present Middle East tension, Israel's activities against the Palestinian population and the activities in southern Lebanon are leading toward deterioration of the situation and creation of fresh dangers in rekindling the conflict in the area.

In the present conditions, I think, that everything possible should be done to keep the situation in the Middle East from deteriorating further. Action should be taken toward a general peace on the basis of retracting Israel from the territories it occupied in 1967 and solving the Palestinian people's problem, which would also include the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In this sense it becomes more imperative for the convening of an international conference in which all the interested parties should participate, including the PLO, in order to come to some agreement which will be acceptable to all sides and would also guarantee the sovereignty and integrity of all states in the area -- a lasting peace that would be based on the respect of the rights of all people for self-determination and subsequently to the right of the Palestinian people to a state of their own.

Question: Mr President, without doubt there is tension in the international arena. In your opinion, what are the "hot points" that create the most serious threats to international peace? What initiatives should be adopted internationally, and what initiatives are you prepared to undertake so that the climate of detente may return?

Answer: It is true that the international arena is particularly tense. This is the direct result of activities that envisage the preservation or redistribution of the zones of power, and simultaneously, the result of the great changes that are being made in the world and the fact that the old balance is being upset and a new balance is intended to be created in a world level through a change in the zones of power as I call them.

Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that colonialism, in its classical form, has been eradicated, and the new states that have been created do whatever is possible to safeguard their independence and are already playing a more important role in international life. The conflicts and tensions in many parts of the world are the direct consequences of all these situations, and we can say that until a new balance is established, until there is stability in the balance of forces, it is possible for other conflicts and tensions to be created -- as recently has happened between Great Britain and Argentina.

Romania considers it imperative that great attention should be paid to these conditions, and we can also say that there should be greater prudence. Any action taken must take place with great responsibility. Nothing must be attempted that could cause fresh conflicts. Events indicate that it is very easy for a conflict to start, but it is very difficult -- since many problems can be created afterwards -- to stop, to find a solution.

This is why we believe that everything possible should be done to resolve interstate conflicts solely through peaceful negotiations. It is much better for the people involved and for the cause of peace that actions should only result through negotiations, regardless of the time and patience required.

Therefore, I consider decisive action necessary to end the present conflicts and to begin their political settlement with negotiations. I refer both to the conflicts and disputes in various parts of the world.

I would like particularly to touch upon the European issues. I refer -- and I wish to reiterate it within this framework -- to the decision to install new nuclear missiles in Europe and to develop the already existing ones. In reality, we could say that, since a huge arsenal, including that of the nuclear weapons, is concentrated in Europe, the greatest "hot point" is on our continent, and, therefore, we should exert every effort to prevent the installation of new missiles and proceed with the removal and destruction of those that exist today. We should also try to successfully end the Madrid conference and convene a conference aimed at the development of trust and disarmament in Europe.

In the same spirit, I would like to refer to the great demonstrations for disarmament and peace that were organized in many European countries as well as in Romania. I consider it more necessary now than ever before to intensify and support such activities. We can say that they have imposed a certain reservation on some governments and they have drawn the attention to many countries on the need not to follow the path of the arms race.

We intend to use the UN General Assembly, which is scheduled to be held in June this year, for the adoption of concrete measures aimed at putting an end to the arms race, proceeding with disarmament and, primarily, with nuclear disarmament.

We are talking about "hot points," but actually the main issue in our days is that of war or peace. Now, more than ever, we must do whatever we can to achieve a policy of peace and national independence.

Question: Mr President, Romania is the only European socialist country which maintains close relations with China. Besides, you recently returned from a visit to China. Have you noticed any changes in China's foreign policy? Are there any possibilities for the differences separating the Soviet Union from China to be overcome in the near future?

Answer: Indeed, Romania has good relations of cooperation with China in many fields, but I would not like to pretend that we are the only European socialist country that maintains good relations with China. There are also other countries which have good relations with the People's Republic of China and, to a certain extent, there are relations between China and all the socialist countries of Europe. I visited China very recently. I can also say that this visit achieved good results. In a joint agreement with the friendly Chinese people, we described the visit as one of historic significance for the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China.

During my visit, I was able to observe with great satisfaction the progress that has been made and the considerations of the Chinese leaders and people for socioeconomic development and the building of a socialist society. I was also able to establish with great satisfaction that our countries have common positions on the substantive issues of disarmament, peace and national independence and that both are determined to contribute to the promotion of the policy of peace.

Romania has always stood in favor of the settlement of disputes between the Soviet Union and China, and I believe that today there are favorable conditions, activities and progress in this direction to smoothen the relations between these two big socialist countries. The improvement and smoothening out of relations between China and the Soviet Union would respond not only to the interests of the socialist countries but also to the more general interests of the policy of world detente, peace and cooperation.

Question: Mr President, before we conclude our interview, do you perchance have any message for the Greek people?

Answer: I am glad for the opportunity, because I will visit Greece again in a few days and have the opportunity to meet the citizens of friendly Greece, to become aware of their occupations, work and the successes they have achieved in economic and social development.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity and address to the friendly Greek people a message of friendship, warm wishes for success in their socioeconomic development, the raising of their prosperity and the accomplishment of lasting peace.

CEAUSESCU, WIFE LEAVE FOR ATHENS ON STATE VISIT

AU040717 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0700 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu left this morning for Athens on a state visit to Greece at the invitation of President Konstandinos Karamanlis. On this visit President Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Gheorghe Petrescu, minister of machine-tool industry, electrical engineering and electronics, and other officials.

The departure ceremony took place at Otopeni Airport, where Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's portrait was displayed, framed in the party and state flags. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were seen off by members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, Central Committee secretaries, members of the State Council and of the government, leaders of central institutions, mass and civic organizations, scientists and men of culture and art. Pioneers gave flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. Many Bucharest inhabitants, present at the airport, cheered enthusiastically for President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, thus expressing their love and esteem for the beloved leader of our party and state, for his untiring efforts to continuously develop our fatherland, to enhance Romania's prestige and role in the international arena. They warmly wished President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu a good flight.

PHILIPPINE'S MARCOS RECEIVES NICU CEAUSESCU

AU031944 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Manila, 3 May (AGERPRES) -- Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], president of the UN Consultative Committee for the International Youth Year, who, at head of a delegation of the CC of the UCY, is paying a visit to the Philippines, was received by President Ferdinand Marcos, to whom he handed over a message from President Nicolae Ceausescu and conveyed cordial wishes of good health and propserity to the Philippine people.

President Ferdinand Marcos warmly thanked for the message and wishes conveyed and requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu should be conveyed best feelings of esteem and friendship. In that context, the Philippine president recalled with pleasure the visit Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to the Philippines and expressed his wish that the relations between the two countries further develop on multiple planes.

During the talks, questions were approached related to the youth's participation in social decision-making with emphasis on the concerns for providing the younger generation with possibilities of participating in the societal management.

U.S. CORPORATE HEAD RECEIVED BY CEAUSESCU

AU031830 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 3 May (AGERPRES) -- On Monday, May 3, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received (Maurice R. Greenberg), president of the "American International Group -- AIG" corporation, who is visiting Romania.

The interview was attended by Petre Gigea, minister of finance, and Stefan Popovici, chairman of the State Insurance Administration -- ADAS.

During the interview the good relations were highlighted between Romania and the USA. In that framework, questions were approached related to the further development of the cooperation with the AIG corporation, the expansion of collaboration between Romanian and US enterprises in the economic-financial field, in goods exchanges and in other sectors of mutual interest.

Aspects were also approached of the world economic situation, as well as of the international political life, stress being laid on the need for intensified efforts to build a climate of peace, security, understanding and collaboration among nations.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

By Finance Minister Gigea

AU031826 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 3 May (AGERPRES) -- On May 3, Petre Gigea, minister of finance of Romania, had an interview in Bucharest with (Maurice R. Greenberg), president of the "American International Group" (AIG) of the USA, now visiting Romania. They approached economic and financial questions of mutual interest, as well as aspects of the collaboration between the State Insurance Administration (ADAS) and the American corporation in various domains.

CEAUSESCU GREETS NAVON ON ISRAEL'S NATIONAL DAY

AU030905 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Mr Yitzhaq Navon, president of the state of Israel,

The anniversary of the state of Isreal's national day gives me the opportunity to extend to you and the Israeli people heartfelt congratulations and wishes for peace, well-being and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

VERDET CABLES PRC PREMIER ON PLANE CRASH

AU030902 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the government, sent a cable to Comrade Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council, in connection with the tragic aircraft accident which caused loss of life. In his cable, the Romanian premier expresses most heartfelt condolences on behalf of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and himself personally and asks that sentiments of profound compa ion be extended to the mourning families.

SUNDIC ON TITO'S SECOND DEATH ANNIVERSARY

AU032000 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] On the eve of the second anniversary of President Tito's death, here is a talk by Milika Sundic:

Tomorrow it will be 2 years since President Tito's death. This is too brief a period to forget this saddest day in the history of the Yugoslav workers movement, but long enough to remind us how much we lost with Tito's death. Since the war, Yugoslavia led by Tito waged and won many battles both domestically and internationally. And when we were in the most difficult situation, we all believed that we were right and that tomorrow we would have it easier.

The battles that we are waging today without Tito, but under Tito's banner, are no easier, but even when they are easier we equally miss Tito. It is not only that we miss him, but also the world which was used to hearing something new from Tito and learning from him.

At the end of next month, the LCY will hold its 12th congress, a congress without Tito. This will be a great test for all Yugoslav communists and for all peoples and nationalities to once again confirm their loyalty to Tito's great work. There is not the slightest doubt that this will not be done. Loyalty to Tito's work also implies a consistency to the policy, both the internal and foreign policy, which Tito left to us as an inheritance. This inheritance is self-management, and brotherhood and unity on the domestic level and the policy of nonalignment on the international level. This is the best guarantee of the Yugoslav togetherness and Yugoslav independence.

The problems which Yugoslavia faces today are too great for us to be able to behave nonchalantly. True, other peoples do not have it much easier. However, our obligations to solve these problems correctly are incomparably greater. Outside of self-management and the full equality of all peoples and nationalities, there is no other road which could lead us to a correct goal, even if we were much richer than we are. Tito frequently used to say that every other road would cost us dearly. Socialism, and this also goes for our self-managing socialism, cannot be developed along a straight line and without any conflicts. The strength of Yugoslav self-management also is in the fact that this strength has always been confirmed through self-managing behavior. We have paid dearly for every inconsistency, particularly when we subordinated self-management to a strong state and its monolithic unity. However, it is a good thing that we have also tried that and have seen that such behavior is no good.

Two years without Tito, regardless of how difficult they might have been, have not discouraged the Yugoslav communists to persist on the road alone which Tito led them for decades. The pledge given to Tito has been and has remained our conviction and the greatest guarantee that for Yugoslavia and its peoples and nationalities, there is nothing more sacred than the preservation of brotherhood and unity, independence and the nonaligned foreign policy in favor of which we have permanently decided. The roots of self-management and nonalignment are sufficiently deep that no weeds can slow down their further growth and ascent. And tomorrow, when we pay our homage to Tito, we will be altogether both sad and proud. Sad because we have lost Tito, and proud because we had him.

BOMB EXPLODES AT STUTTGART CULTURAL CENTER

AU031503 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] A bomb planted in front of the Yugoslav library, which is located next to the Yugoslav Cultural Information Center in Stuttgart, exploded at about 0400 hours this morning. There were no casualties but considerable material damage. The Stuttgart police assume that political motives are behind this terrorist action similar to those involved last year when explosives were planted in front of the Yugoslav Cultural Information Center in Stuttgart. Investigations are under way.

GRLICKOV LEADS DELEGATION TO ALGIERS CONFERENCE

LD031856 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1648 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 3 May (TANJUG) -- Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, left for Algeria today. In that non-aligned country Grlickov will head the Yugoslav delegation to the fourth conference of progressive parties and movements of the Mediterranean.

SERBIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE VIEWS MINIC NOMINATION

AU032126 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 82 p 5

[Dusan Drazic and Slobodan Jankovic report]

[Excerpt] In the discussion on candidates for the composition of the new Central Committee, Rada Dedijer mentioned that when the list of candidates is made it is necessary to take care that those comrades who hold a large number of posts should not be elected; and then that the candidates must be such people who are politically correct, who adhere to the line of the League of Communists, who will provide a guarantee that they will consistently implement our program and the Statute of the League of Communists. She proposed Zivan Vasiljevic as member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. She then spoke about Milos Minic's nomination and the way in which his nomination as candidate for the Federal Chamber [of the SFRY Assembly] was prevented. In her view, this shows that something is happening in the League of Communists of our republic. She then asked what the motives are that Comrade Minic is not on the list of candidates for the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.

Vukoje Bulatovic stressed that Rada Dedijer, by raising this question concerning Comrade Minic, made some serious appraisals. He informed members of the Central Committee about the entire procedure of nomination, about which an announcement was made, and said that nothing new can be added to that. The [Minic] nomination did not go further than Cacak. Budimir Vukasinovic said that when the final list of candidates for the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia are discussed, then the list of candidates for the LCY Central Committee will also be discussed. Comrade Minic is registered as candidate for member of the LCY Central Committee. And the same goes for Zivan Vasiljevic.

KOSOVO LC CONFERENCE ELECTS COMMISSIONS

AU031900 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 82 p 4

[List of members of the Statutory Commission and the Central Commission of the Kosovo League of Communists, elected at the 13th Kosovo LC Conference in Pristina on 26 April]

[Excerpts] According to a report of the Election Commission, 417 delegates voted for 95 members of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. Three ballots were invalid.

The following 15 members of the Statutory Commission of the League of Communists of Kosovo were elected by 417 delegates (three ballots were invalid):

Boro Dromoncic (401), Sadik Bajrami (411), Sehide Rasica (405), Strazimir Ilic (405), Vido Knezevic (410), Hidajete Ljuri (410), Osman Tolaj (410), Bakir Maksut (410), Djeladin Nidza (406), Ismet Mujeci (410), Desa Djordjevic (411), Daut Fonda (409), Mustafa Osmanagic (407), Ismajl Dragidela (408) and Hasan Dekici (407).

The following 11 members of the Control Commission of the League of Communists of Kosovo were elected by 417 delegates:

Enver Jusufi (414), Slobodan Baljosevic (410), Dragoslav Jovanovic (409), Tahir Dzema (413), Hazir Obrazda (414), Zarife Gasi (415), Safet Budakova (414), Minir Morina (414), Srebrena Ivanovic (411), Bogoljub Isajlovic (412) and Ferik Misini (413).